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East Europe

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NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

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Joint CSSR, USSR, Hungarian Exercises Noted

LD0902225989 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 9 Feb 89

[Excerpt] Joint exercises of units of the Hungarian, Soviet, and Czechoslovak Armies continue under very difficult meteorological conditions in difficult mountain terrain. The main objective of these exercises, within the context of our military doctrine, is a tenacious defense with a transition to a counterattack.

We found the crew of the tank of Graduate Sergeant Anton Takac at a moment when his tank was maneuvering into firing position. In freezing fog, even camouflaging the tank required the efforts and coordination of the whole crew.

Soviet motorized rifle units were also constructing their section of the defensive network. The trenches were dug by engineering equipment but in the closing phase it was the turn of the classic field shovels and the hands of the soldiers from the company bearing the name of Hero of the Soviet Union Lieutenant Petrov.

Tank crews were constructing defensive positions in front of the Soviet motorized rifle units. [passage omitted]

CEMA Engineering Bureau Meets in CSSR

AU1002125289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Feb 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "International Contacts" column]

[Text] A session of the CEMA Committee's Bureau for Cooperation in Engineering opened in Brno on Tuesday [7 February]. One of the most important items on its 12-point agenda is the assessment of the implementation to date of the Comprehensive Program for the CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000. The participants in the session were received the same day by Vladimir Herman, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the South Moravia CPCZ Regional Committee. Deputy CEMA Secretary Ladislav Gerle was also present.

Delays, Problems in CEMA Project Viewed

AU1002153189 Prague TRIBUNA No 5 in Czech 1 Feb 89 p 14

[Article by NOVOSTI correspondent Igor Zazada: "Dolinskaya—Lessons From a CEMA Project"]

[Excerpts] About 3 years ago Czechoslovak geodesists were hammering the first posts into the Ukrainian steppe near Dolinskaya, a district center not far from Krivoy Rog, the site of a future building project. Four countries—the GDR, Czechoslovakia, Romania, and Hungary—were to construct here on a compensatory basis the world's largest combine for mining and enriching oxidized ores. According to plans, it was to go into operation in 1990. [passage omitted]

Today it is clear that the first part will come on line only in 1992. What happened? [passage omitted]

According to the plan for the construction of the mining and enrichment combine for oxidized ores, the partners had divided their commitments as follows: The magnetic separation hall, which is the backbone of the combine, was to be constructed by Czechoslovak builders and the filtration section by the GDR. A series of building projects was entrusted to Romania, and industrial automation for the plant was entrusted to Hungary. In addition, the participants from the socialist countries were to build a comfortable town for several thousand people, the combine's future workforce.

The Soviet Union's task, according to the preliminary plan, was to build auxiliary projects—a rail link to transport raw materials for further processing, a power transmission line, a gas distribution line, and a channel between the Dnepr and the Ingulets.

The general commissioner of the project—the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy—saw to it that the construction of the combine was included in the Main Directions for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in the 12th 5-Year Plan (1986-90), which were approved by the 27th CPSU Congress.

It turned out, however, that the haste was unnecessary. Construction started without a thoroughly developed and approved project design and, in the final analysis, also without a firmly guaranteed contribution by each country. [passage omitted]

I visited Dolinskaya during the first days of construction. [passage omitted]

Even then, during our talks in Krivoy Rog, the management of the combine and experts from the design institutes mentioned various questions that were impossible to answer. The situation at Dolinskaya, too, was very confusing. Workers and technicians from the GDR, for example, were building their construction base but for some reason they did not want information on this to appear in the press. At the Romanian section, a few prefabricated houses were completely deserted. Only the Czechoslovak builders made no secret of their work and proceeded according to the timetable.

The "secret" turned out to be plain. Although many months had elapsed since the start of the combine's construction, bilateral contracts with the subcontractors still had not been signed. At the same time, each country has the right to choose for itself the volume of construction and the amount of money it wants to invest. It thus happened that when the contracts finally took effect, the situation was completely different from the original projections. The GDR decided to invest only R67 million in constructing the combine, instead of R167 million, and Romania, too, "crossed off" R100 million from its original R400 million stake. Hungary completely canceled its share of R40 million. Only Czechoslovakia confirmed its commitments.

It thus happened that R200 million worth of investments were "hanging in the air." Naturally, the Soviet Union was forced to hastily take charge of these investments, only 2 and ½ years before the combine's scheduled coming on line.

The largest CEMA project, which could have become an example of economic cooperation on a new foundation, regrettably began to lag behind through the fault of bad old management methods. [passage omitted]

"It was precisely the redistribution of resources that caused us many problems," says V. Yelezov, director of the mining and enrichment combine for oxidized ores. "The filtration section, for instance, was to be built by the GDR. However, our side has now taken charge of some of the objects and, hence, of deliveries of equipment. Because we do not manufacture thickeners, which are the core of the section, we had to purchase a license on short notice. We have been promised their delivery for 1991. They are so big, however, that they will not fit into the already completed buildings."

The hardest-hit projects are those that are absolutely essential for the future workforce of the combine. The deadlines for the completion of apartment houses, a hospital with a polyclinic, a bakery, a sports ground, and facilities for children—that is, projects whose entire construction should have started—keep being postponed.

In the course of construction, the partners from the socialist countries submitted to the commissioner—that is, to the Soviet Union—a number of justified demands. They concerned noncompliance with the agreed deliveries of construction materials and their low quality, delays in the construction of auxiliary projects, and the failure of the scores of subcontractors to coordinate their course of action. All this was a result of arbitrary decisions. It is not that easy today to find the personally responsible senior managers who had been so frivolously signing "directives" that were doomed to failure in advance. [passage omitted]

We could find consolation in the fact that building such a mammoth plant in 7 years is not all that bad (the customary pace of construction in the USSR [for projects of this size] is 10 to 12 years). We must realize, however, that in the advanced capitalist countries such a project takes between 1 and ½ and 2 years to complete. [passage omitted]

The 2-year construction delay means extra costs, in which neither the Soviet Union nor the other CEMA countries taking part in the construction of the combine can take delight.

However, for all of them it is a lesson, one from which they must draw conclusions.

Hungarian-CSSR Protocol Signed on Dam Project

LD0602224689 Budapest MTI in English
2116 GMT 6 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 6 (MTI)—On Monday [6 February], Peter Medgyessy, Hungarian deputy prime minister, and Pavel Hrivnak, first deputy prime minister of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, signed a protocol in Budapest, amending the inter-governmental agreement of September 16, 1977, on mutual assistance in the construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros water barrage. The amendment was prepared during 1987-88 and accepted by both sides.

The protocol contains a detailed timetable for putting the water barrage into operation. The Czechoslovak partners have taken it upon themselves to construct their ecological projects in due course. The amended timetable does not affect the final deadline of construction.

Peter Havas, Hungarian Government commissioner for the barrage, told MTI that the current protocol had been brought about by a previous agreement with the Austrian constructors, which stipulated that the project would be completed fifteen months earlier than scheduled, although it had been commenced later. So the timetable of the Gabcikovo project had to be adjusted to this deadline. The project's first turbine will be put into operation, as originally planned, on July 1, 1990, but the other seven will become operational at three-monthly intervals, not five-monthly as originally scheduled, so the project will be completed 14 months earlier than planned. As a consequence, the power plant will generate an additional 2,500 gigawatthours of energy, shared by the two countries on an equal basis. The construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros project will still be completed by 1994.

Alia Meets Lushnje Cadres, Cooperativists

AU0802091789 Tirana ATA in English 0730 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] Tirana, February 8 (ATA)—On February 7, The first secretary of the party Central Committee, Comrade Ramiz Alia, met with cadres of the party and power organs, of the economy of Lushnje District.

Attending the meeting were the first secretary of the district party committee, Themie Thomai, and the chairman of the Executive Committee of the District People's Council, Gjergji Velo.

Cadres of agriculture and the other sectors of the economy that took the floor in this meeting voiced their great joy and enthusiasm that the decisions of the 7th plenum of the party Central Committee have aroused among the people.

In the talks with the cadres, Comrade Ramiz Alia gave valuable instructions on the understanding and practical implementation of the decisions of the 7th plenum of the party Central Committee. Comrade Ramiz Alia went to Fier-Shegan cooperative where he continued the conversation began here with cooperativists and cadres of this cooperative and of the other nearby economies.

At the center of the cooperative he was received with love and enthusiasm by hundreds of inhabitants.

During the conversation with cooperativists and cadres views were exchanged on the decisions of the 7th plenum of the CC of the party. The people voice openly their thoughts on the affairs in the brigade taking into consideration the perspectives the plenum has opened to them.

Both in the meeting with the district cadres and in the talks with leading cadres of agriculture in the cooperative of Fier-Shegan, Comrade Ramiz Alia congratulated them on the attained results. I came amongst you, he said, because the party wants to know how do you consider the decisions of the 7th plenum, how the people have received them, how are they working to analyse them and what measures are being taken to translate them into life. The party needs your valuable advice.

The 7th plenum, Comrade Ramiz Alia said further on, laid down great tasks not only to agriculture but also to all the fields of social activity. Its decisions should be understood all-sidedly. The results in agriculture are not attained only due to the growth of the material technical basis. We must never forget that it is the people, the masses those who implement the tasks set by the party, which make the possibilities a reality. Let us bear always in mind that it is the people who built socialism.

From your discussions, Comrade Ramiz Alia said, I noticed particularly that the new form of remuneration in agriculture has encouraged your thinking, it is a valuable job. In the center of the policy of our party is the man, his life and well-being. Therefore, he must directly profit from the work he does. The new form of remuneration of the cooperativists harmonizes on a higher scale the interests of the individual with those of the group and of the whole society.

In conclusion, Comrade Ramiz Alia said: I wish the district of Lushnje be always in the van. The party is convinced that you will always forge ahead and as until now, in the 45th anniversary of the liberation of the country, you will be among the advanced districts.

CSSR Foreign Trade Minister Arrives 10 Feb

Received by Carcani

AU1002203289 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Text] A government trade delegation of the CSSR arrived today in Tirana. The delegation is led by Jan Sterba, minister of foreign trade. The delegation was welcomed at Rinas Airport by Shane Korbeci, minister of foreign trade; Bashkim Dino, departmental director of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and other comrades. Anton (?Senkovic), charge d'affaires ad interim of the CSSR Embassy in Tirana, was also present.

Talks were held today in Tirana between the delegations of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, led by Minister of Foreign Trade Shane Korbeci, and the CSSR Government trade delegation, led by Minister of Foreign Trade Jan Sterba. The two delegations reviewed trends in the trade between the two countries and the possibility of further expanding it in future.

This afternoon, Comrade Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, received Jan Sterba, CSSR minister of foreign trade. The reception was attended by Shane Korbeci, minister of foreign trade, and Muhamet Kapllani, deputy minister of foreign affairs. Anton (?Senkovic), charge d'affaires ad interim of the CSSR Embassy in Tirana, was also present.

After welcoming Jan Sterba, Comrade Adil Carcani expressed his appreciation for recent developments in the economic and trade cooperation between the two countries, and stressed the possibilities to expand this bilateral cooperation in other fields, such as science, technology, and so forth.

The CSSR minister, Jan Sterba, thanked Comrade Carcani for the welcome extended to his delegation. He conveyed to Comrade Carcani greetings on behalf of Vladislav Adamec, prime minister of the CSSR, wished the Albanian people further successes in their work, and expressed his readiness for the further development of bilateral cooperation in fields of mutual interest, such as the economy, trade, and so forth.

Comrade Adil Carcani stressed the need for concrete measures in the aforementioned fields as a direct reflection of the development of relations between the two countries. He asked the CSSR minister of foreign trade to convey his greetings to Prime Minister Vladislav Adamec, and wished happiness and prosperity for the Czechoslovak people.

A trade and payments protocol for 1989 was signed today between the Governments of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and of the CSSR. The agreement was signed on the Albanian side by Shane Korbeci, minister of foreign trade, and on the CSSR side by Jan Sterba, minister of foreign trade.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania will export ferro-nickel ore, fresh and preserved fruit and vegetables, tobacco, cognac, medicinal herbs, handicraft goods, and so forth. Albania will import from Czechoslovakia raw materials, steel bars, mass consumer commodities, chemicals, machinery, and equipment.

The CSSR Government trade delegation led by Jan Sterba, minister of foreign trade, left Albania today. The delegation was seen off at Rinas Airport by Shane Korbeci, minister of foreign trade; Bashkim Dino, departmental director at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and other comrades. Anton (?Senkovic), charge d'affaires ad interim of the CSSR embassy in Tirana, was also present.

Trade Protocol Signed

LD1002160789 Prague CTK in English
1255 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Text] Tirana Feb 10 (CTK)—A protocol on the exchange of goods and payments between Czechoslovakia and Albania for 1989 was signed here today by the foreign ministers Jan Sterba of Czechoslovakia and Shane Korbeci of Albania.

The protocol provides for the volume of trade to amount to 74 million rubles, approximately last year's level.

Czechoslovak exports to Albania will include mainly trucks, machine tools, textile machinery, rolled material, chemical products and consumer goods. Dominant in Albanian exports to Czechoslovakia will be ores, fresh and tinned fruit and vegetables.

What is new in the protocol in contrast with the past years in Czechoslovak imports is the production of goods to order, involving the possibility to engage in lower forms of cooperation in the textile, shoe-making and engineering industries. Albania has free processing capacities in these branches. It has already begun manufacturing uppers for Czechoslovak shoe-making enterprises and components made of non-ferrous metals. Minister Sterba had talks with Albanian Premier Adil Carcani. Both sides voiced interest in expanding trade and promoting industrial cooperation.

Malile Talks With Switzerland's Felber

AU0702091389 Tirana ATA in English
0730 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Text] Tirana, February 7 (ATA)—On his way back from the Republic of Turkey to Tirana, the minister for foreign affairs of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania, Reiz Malile, stopped in Zurich, where he met with the minister for foreign affairs of the Swiss Confederation, Rene Felber.

On this occasion, opinions were exchanged on the relations of cooperation between Albania and Switzerland. They pointed out the friendly character of these relations and expressed the desire that these relations develop further in the future in various fields of mutual interest. Likewise, it was spoken on the developments in the Balkans and on Europe's political questions.

Elections for People's Councils, Courts

AU1102195989 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian
1900 GMT 11 Feb 89

["Decree on Elections for People's Councils, People's Courts"]

[Text] Because the mandate of the people's councils and people's courts lapses on 27 April 1989, in conformity with Article 77 of the Constitution and Articles 25 and 45 of the Decree No. 4243 of 13 March 1967 on elections for the people's councils and people's courts, the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, decided:

Elections for the people's councils and people's courts are to be held on Sunday, 7 May 1989.

This decree comes into effect immediately.
Tirana, 8 February 1989
Decree No. 7281
For the Presidium of the People's Assembly:
Ramiz Alia, chairman;
Sihat Tozaj, secretary

Economic Progress Report for 5-11 February

AU1102200289

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its transmissions between 5-11 February carries the following economic performance reports (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

Fier District: Sixteen collectives overfulfilled the January plan. (1900 GMT 8 February)

Gjirokaster District: The general industrial plan for January was fulfilled by 101 percent. (1430 GMT 8 February)

Kolonje District: The general industrial plan for January has been overfulfilled by 2.6 percent. (1700 GMT 7 February)

Lezhe District: The overall industrial production plan in January was fulfilled by 106 percent. (1430 GMT 7 February)

Librazhd District: The general industrial production plan in January was exceeded by 2 percent; (1430 GMT 7 February) the overall industrial plan up to 5 February was overfulfilled by 1.2 million leks. (1900 GMT 9 February)

Permet District: The general industrial production plan in January was fulfilled by 101.8 percent. (1430 GMT 7 February)

Skrapar District: The overall industrial production plan for the month of January was overfulfilled by 1 percent. (1900 GMT 6 February)

Shkoder District: The overall industrial production plan for January was fulfilled by 103.8 percent, or 5.7 million leks over the plan. (1430 GMT 8 February)

Tropoje District: Seventeen out of 18 collectives report having fulfilled or overfulfilled the January plan. (1900 GMT 11 Feb 89)

Economic Contacts With Western Powers

AU1302103789 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 13 Feb 89 p 163

[Unattributed report: "Albania Wants To Crack Open Its Isolation"]

[Text] The government in Tirana is looking for new diplomatic contacts with the East and better economic relations with the West. It intends to establish an embassy in Hungary and to revive relations with the PRC, which have been frozen since 1978. Bonn is to help the Albanians to open a door toward the EC. The FRG is one of Albania's leading trading partners in the West. It is helping in the search for crude oil and natural gas and in the construction of a nuclear test reactor. However, the Skipetars' readiness for fraternization has its limits: Relations with Moscow remain frosty. Albanian media continue to cast Perestroyka Tsar Mikhail Gorbachev as a traitor.

Alia Sends Greetings to Iran's Khamene'i

AU1002194689 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Text] Comrade Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, has sent the following telegram to Seyyed Khamene'i, president of the Islamic Republic of Iran:

On the occasion of the National Day of the Islamic Republic of Iran, it is my pleasure, in the name of the Albanian people, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and personally, to convey to you, and through you to the friendly Iranian people, greetings and best wishes for their happiness and the country's development and progress.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 3-10 Feb

AU1002165789

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its broadcasts between 3-10 February reports the following public appearances of Albanian leaders (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

Rita Marko, AWP CC Politburo member and deputy chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Pirro Kondi and Llambi Gegprifti, AWP CC Politburo candidate members, attended on 7 February a commemorative meeting in Tirana on the fifth anniversary of the death of Myslim Peza, Hero of the People. (1430 GMT 7 Feb 89)

Adil Carcani, AWP CC Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers, chaired on 6 February a meeting of the Council of Ministers. (1900 GMT 6 Feb 89)

Ramiz Alia, AWP CC first secretary and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, had a meeting with Lushnje District cadres and visited a cooperative on 7 February. (1900 GMT 7 Feb 89)

Muho Asllani, AWP CC Politburo member and Durres District AWP Committee first secretary (previously first AWP Committee first secretary in Shkoder District) attended a ceremony in Durres on 7 February on the conclusion of the first stage of a mass action to build a local industrial gas pipeline. (1900 GMT 7 Feb 89)

Reiz Malile, minister of foreign affairs, returned home on 6 February following his visit to Turkey. (1900 GMT 6 Feb 89)

*Glasnost Supporter Fired, Expelled From BCP

29000018 Paris LE MONDE in French
8 Feb 89 p 5

[Unattributed article: "Bulgaria: A Journalist Fired After Meeting Mitterrand"]

[Text] According to a well-informed source, Mrs Koprina Chernenkova, an art critic for the Bulgarian weekly NARODNA KULTURA and one of the 12 intellectuals who attended a breakfast for Francois Mitterrand during his visit to Sofia on 18 January, was fired 3 days after meeting the French president.

Mrs Chernenkova, a member of the "Club for the Support of Glasnost and Restructuring," had already been expelled from the Bulgarian Communist Party shortly after the creation of the club last November. Three days after Mitterrand's visit she was summoned before the editorial staff of her newspaper, which "withdrew its political confidence" in her.

NARODNA KULTURA has been the subject of continuing reprisals since its chief editor, Stefan Prodev, was fired late last year. He was considered too lax with respect to those supporting different views. Prodev was also one of Mitterrand's guests.

Editorial Describes Lives of Arrested Dissidents

AU0902133389 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 7 Feb 89 p 3

[Editorial article: "Who Is Struggling for Human Rights in Bulgaria, and How?"]

[Text] Restructuring has stirred up our society and released its creative energies. Changes are taking place in Bulgaria which reflect our country's wide opening up to the world to the achievements of human civilization, and which express the Bulgarian people's aspiration to live in peace, understanding, and cooperation with all peoples. Restructuring in our country, as an inseparable part of the innovative processes in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, arouses great interest in many states, especially among their mass media.

This is understandable and makes us happy. Nevertheless, certain reports, interviews, and commentaries recently published in West European countries, and broadcast by radio stations, such as Radio Free Europe, the BBC, the Voice of America, and Deutsche Welle, describe the situation in our country in a subjective and biased manner by deliberately failing to tell the whole truth about certain events and personalities in Bulgaria. Rumors are being spread and interest is being shown in certain facts and problems which are artificially fanned from the outside.

Readers' letters received by our editorial board express such interest as well. One of them, from Angel Vichev Angelov, living in Sofia at No 45 Patriarch Evtimiy Avenue reads:

"The midday program of Deutsche Welle on 12 January 1989 carried an interview with Iliya Minev, chairman of the 'Independent Society for the Protection of Human Rights.' However, the interviewer remained silent after a short time, while the pompous monologue of the elderly chairman, accompanied by a radio commentary, filled the air. Nevertheless, I would like to ask: Where does the truth end, and where does propaganda begin? My question is: Has this society a legitimate right to exist, and since it actually exists, what is its composition, what are the goals and tasks it has adopted, and how are its activities specifically expressed?"

In answering Angel Angelov and the rest of our readers, we also hope to be of some assistance to our colleagues from certain Western countries in their understanding of Bulgarian reality and of this specific case.

As it appears from the announcement published through our mass media, the Ministry of Interior, with the authorization of the local prosecutor's office, detained 13 citizens in Plovdiv on 11 January 1989. The prosecutor's office entrusted the investigation with clarifying the exact facts and circumstances, incriminating the aforementioned persons for crimes of a general character.

The announcement was brief and aimed at informing our public that such measures were adopted in order to establish whether these citizens have really violated Bulgarian laws. As a matter of fact, the detained citizens were released after 2-3 days. We should point out that such actions by the law-enforcing organs, under given circumstances, are quite customary in all other countries in the world. Certain Western mass media, however, described these incidents in our country as an inadmissible violation of human rights. This is why it is necessary to tell the truth by describing the facts as they really occurred.

As of the beginning of 1988, a group of persons established an "Independent Society for the Protection of Human Rights in the People's Republic of Bulgaria." According to the explanations of the initiators, the basic goal of the "society" was supposed to be assisting the Bulgarian Government in its efforts for a better observance of human rights in the country. This appeared to be a lofty, humanitarian goal, worthy of being welcomed and supported. With the same purpose, the idea of organizing a "24 May Movement" was conceived in Plovdiv in autumn 1988.

This is what appears on the surface; these are the goals advertised to the public and proclaimed in front of some official organs. However, what are the forms and means by which the "society" in question intended to work for its goals? Is this not the main question in the long run? The programmatic documents, the instructions, and directives that were compiled and publicly distributed will tell us more about it:

The program of the intended "movement" declares:

"The leading role of the BCP and of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union's Permanent Board is denied;

"The destructive domestic and foreign policy that the Bulgarian Government has conducted so far is rejected;

"The Fatherland Front, the Komsomol organization, and the trade unions are rejected;

"It is urgently requested that all treaties concluded by the government since 1944 be reviewed and revised."

Shall we continue? All the rest is conceived in the same spirit. Let us cite a few lines from another document:

"The majority of protection measures will be only temporarily required until the movement matures and becomes popular.

"We already have numerous methods to assess and evaluate every agent provocateur who has been infiltrated.

"Remember and write down the names of all oppressors, of their supporters, assistants, obedient servants, and helpers.

"Wherever possible, write down exactly whom you suspect of being an informer, where and when you met him, and the reasons why you suspect him, and leave code signs about him."

"These names will be required for the Day of Judgment, when everyone will be judged according to his deeds.

"These are the deeds that make one worthy of being buried in the center of Sofia.

"Following this line of thought, is it not high time to remove the body of Georgi Dimitrov and bury him in Sofia Central Cemetery?"

"You should consider ours a powerful movement, which within a few months, will be able to take over the government..."

Petur Manolov, the "secretary" of the "society," is the author of these lines. We will describe this person in more detail later on. Let us now concentrate on the lines we just cited. It is hardly necessary to make any effort in trying to understand how the intended "society" would assist the Bulgarian Government in better observing civil and human rights in our country. The "fighters" for human rights urge their followers to do away with the "oppressors, their supporters, and assistants," and so forth. Do they not claim to be champions of pluralism, freedom of views, and actions in favor of equal rights? It turns out, however, that this applies only to those who share their opinions, as for the others... We would just like to point out that those "others" are millions of Bulgarian citizens.

No great political education is required to understand that we are dealing with an anticonstitutional, antistate, and antisocialist platform aimed at destroying the existing political system and the legitimately elected government organs. This is the counterrevolutionary platform of a "society" containing badly masked elements of an organization that exists illegally, whose arsenal does not exclude extremist methods of political, moral, and physical terror. Not only the overthrow of political and state institutions is planned, but all treaties signed since 1944 at the people's wish are supposed to be canceled treaties, thanks to which we achieved our worldwide prestige, taking our legitimate place among the nations.

The question arises—is there anything illegal about the actions of the law-enforcing organs that are aimed only at observing the Constitution of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and all other laws, before which all citizens are and should be equal? Is it not an elementary truth that the basic laws of a country should be observed by all state organs, officials, public institutions, and all citizens? Without dwelling on all articles and paragraphs of the Constitution that deal with the nature and structure of our society, its political system, and government organs, let us cite paragraph 4 of Article 52, which reads: "Organizations aimed against the socialist system in the People's Republic of Bulgaria and against the citizens' rights, which preach fascist or other antidemocratic ideologies, are banned." The so-called "society" and the "movement," as well as all their actions are unconstitutional; they are illegal, and it is natural to adopt measures against such actions. Similar measures have been and are adopted in similar cases, even in those states where people are so sentimentally concerned about a couple of self-appointed human rights "champions" in our country.

However, let us further pursue our report by just sticking to the simple facts.

The so-called "Independent Society for the Protection of Human Rights in the People's Republic of Bulgaria," which has not been legally established, has 25 members. None of them has ever been a member of any political, social, or creative organization. Eight persons are graduates of higher educational institutions (two of them studied theology); the rest attended elementary or secondary schools; 12 of them do not perform any socially useful labor, as we say; while 17 of the persons considered to be members of the society have been convicted, some of them even several times.

Who are these people? Let us provide a few lines on some of them:

Iliya Minev: He is the self-appointed "chairman" of the "society." Born in 1917 in the town of Septemvri, Plovdiv Oblast, he still lives there. He comes from a wealthy family. Let us be more precise, because the concept of a "wealthy family" is flexible and sometimes abused. Iliya Minev's father owned 500 decares of land, vineyards and orchards, situated in the fertile Pazardzhik plain, of all places. Our senior citizens with white hair would be the most qualified to estimate the value of 500 decares of land in those days. Iliya Minev himself was educated in France, and from 1940-1944 was a member of the "Legion," a fascist organization, and even advanced as one of its leading functionaries. We should not forget how loyally he served the police, and the fact that he personally participated in repressive actions against antifascists. He could have been a defendant at the People's Court for these crimes, but he evidently benefited from a humanitarian approach in regard to him, which he by no means appreciated. Deep in his heart he is an inveterate enemy of the people who seized power. In 1946 he established an antistate organization aimed at overthrowing the people's government. He was sentenced to a 20-year prison term for this crime. At a later stage, on 15 September 1975, he and his wife were sentenced to a 1-year prison term by Razgrad Okrug Court for having organized the illegal production of plastic materials [plastmasovi izdeliya] during the 1968-1975 period.

Our citizens justifiably ask themselves—can such a person fight for the protection of the Bulgarian people's civil and human rights?

This is what Nadya Vurtigova from Septemvri, from the same town as Iliya Minev, wrote in her letter to our editorial board: "The moral and political character of our fellow citizen Iliya Minev is well known to us. Before 9 September 1944 he denounced fighters against fascism to the police, and even cooperated with the police. Iliya Minev, in those days, approved and even participated in the psychological and physical torture of numerous people and their families. Today he declares himself a champion of human rights? Whose rights are they, mine or my family's, or those of our fellow citizens? I have talked to many people in our town and to friends from neighboring villages, with my colleagues in the collective where I work, and with neighbors. Everyone is amazed. How can such a person talk about human rights!"

Let us cite a few lines from Atanas Manolov's letter to our editorial board:

"At the beginning of 1943 I happened to be in the reserve officers school. I was assigned to the administrative company in the first quartermaster's platoon. Iliya Minev, the son of the proprietor of a large wine cellar, was also in our platoon and company. It was not difficult to understand that Iliya Minev tried to approach some cadets whom he identified as Communists. Our information confirmed that Iliya Minev was an agent of the RO-2 (Intelligence Department-2) and that all his actions were purposeful. When he did not succeed in infiltrating our ranks, he fully unmasked himself and began telling us that he was a member of the "Legion," and even belonged to its leadership. On the basis of his slanders and reports, an investigation was filed against Mikhayl Mikhaylov, Stamen Dolapchiev, and myself. They broke our bones and subjected us to all sorts of tortures... This is why I read with great disgust in the newspapers that Minev, a man who once served obscurantism and Hitlerism, declared himself a "champion of human rights."

As to Grigor Bozhilov: If we were to describe all his actions, this would make an interesting thriller. This man in his prime (he is 36 years old), with a useful profession—he is an electrical fitter—and with the opportunities granted to him, could have raised his own family, educated his children, and lived as a honest and respectable citizen. Instead of doing so, he engaged in terrorist actions and formed a group to fight the people's government. Naturally, he was sentenced to a prison term for such actions, but in 1973 he managed to escape from prison and crossed the border to Yugoslavia. There he continued to "struggle" for human rights and justice by... stealing icons from several churches. Naturally, the Yugoslav authorities convicted him for this, and after serving a 1-year prison sentence, he was extradited to our country. In Bulgaria he joined the "society" in question and became its messenger and coordinator. In September 1988 his application to leave the country was approved and a regular passport was granted to him. He left for Vienna on 10 October 1988. However, he returned to Bulgaria after 20 days because, as is known, you cannot live anywhere without working, while the country where he was born and raised would always give him bread and shelter....

Eduard Genov, a 42-year old Sofia citizen, married, who worked as a road builder, is one of the organizers of the "society," and one of its "distinguished" members. As a young man, he established an illegal armed group. In prison, he organized and participated in an attack on the guards in order to escape and leave the country illegally. Having served his sentence and been set free, E. Genov immediately engaged in new unlawful activities. In October 1988 his application was accepted and he left the country together with his family. He is now living in the United States and eagerly gives interviews on every occasion.

Dimitur Tomov from Mikhaylovgrad and Father Blagoy Topuzliev from Plovidv, about whom the Bulgarian press hs already reported, belong to this category of "human rights fighters."

We would like to end our acquaintance with the "champions (fighters) for human rights in Bulgaria" with a description of Petur Manolov. He was born in 1939 in Sadovo village, Burgas Oblast. A graduate of the textile technical school in Sliven, he settled in Plovdiv, where for a short time he worked as a watchman at the antique theater. He has never worked anywhere else. He was no member of any political or social organization, is married, and has one child.

His first volume of poems was published in 1980 by the Varna publishing house, and 3 years later the same publishing house published his second volume of poems. Only a literary review can provide a correct evaluation of their artistic value, but the readers can also do so.

Nevertheless, what is he writing and propagating? Let us read excerpts from his most recent works, prepared for publication and propagation.

"He began his sex life as an onanist,
As a killer of sex-crazy bugs,
As a consumer of small girls and boys,
As a strangler of hermaphrodites.
User of special, sandpaper-made condoms
Charmer of ideological larvae, Marxist nits, and imperial ova,
Sodomist, who copulates with a crowd of red ants, clean-shaven hedgehogs, turkeys, donkeys, mouflons, etc.,
Lover of lesbians with crooked wombs,
Admirer of pederasts...."

Forgive us, dear readers, for submitting such shocking, pornographic reading matter to you, but tell us, how could we otherwise acquaint you with the most recent creative work of the "talented" poet Petur Manolov? We just have to point out that, according to the Penal Code (Article 159, paragraph 1), "whoever produces, propagates, exhibits, or sells printed material, pictures, films, or other pornographic items is subject to fines amounting to 500 leva." The main question in this respect is not the amount of the fine, but concerns the individual's personal and moral stand and the problem of whether his conscience permits him to compose pornographic "works."

Let us cite some political writings by the same author, which are not as shocking, but "unmistakable":

"Now, all those who have been thrown together in the midden behave in the same manner! The Pole, the Bulgarian, the Cuban, the Hungarian, the Chinese, the Vietnamese.... They all are slowly devouring each other with their appetites, and their stomach juices are stimulated by the meat sticking between their teeth and by munching the gristle, and the sweet sounds produced...."

As to Petur Manolov's "international feelings," they are unequivocally expressed in the following lines:
"You, Gorbachev, liberate us from the liberators!
"You, Reagan, liberate us from the liberators!
"Liberate us from our liberators, and try no longer to liberate us from our lives and our future, do not liberate us, and try no longer to put the noose of feudal, Asian slavery around our necks....
"Because we do not blame you for the letters of the alphabet in which you are writing your lies."

When Petur Manolov was detained on 11 January 1989, materials required for the objective clarification of his case were legally confiscated from his home. Since a great noise was raised in connection with these documents, described as a literary archive, we feel obliged to point out that these were programmatic documents of the intended "society" and "movement," whose author and co-author was Petur Manolov, as well as instructions and directives, which are sometimes difficult to distinguish from the poetic creations from which excerpts are included in our present feature story.

Western journalists took advantage of Petur Manolov's detention for a very active and essentially one-sided defense of the "innocent" poet. Well-known artists and cultural figures in some countries were invited by interested propaganda departments to speak out in defense of the poet, without even being told that he was one of the founders of an illegal, organized group with evident subversive goals, directed against the state, and established in violation of the legal order and the country's Constitution. Even in our country, some distinguished and highly respected individuals expressed the spontaneous wish to help Petur Manolov, without being clearly aware of the reasons why these measures were taken against him. Particular "sympathy" was expressed in connection with the inspection and temporary confiscation of the poet's so-called literary archive, which was returned to him on schedule. However, it should be known that this archive happened to be among the documents of the so-called "society," among which the aforementioned political decrees were found. No one has ever touched his literary archive.

This was a brief account of the lives, actions, and moral standards of the new "human rights champions" in Bulgaria. It is quite evident that their actions are by no means aimed at assisting the official organs and the people's government in support of humanitarian principles, slogans, and solutions. The truth about their real intentions is concealed from the broad public—it seems that they have not even revealed it to their well-wishers abroad. In their numerous and generously granted interviews, they usually omit all open statements about their intention of overthrowing the people's government and burying communism on the territory of Bulgaria, as well as the fact that their actions fully contradict the basic law of our country—the Constitution of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. On the contrary, they pretend to be "dissidents" with broad-minded and modern views, pure fighters for lofty ideals. Actually, they were unmasked as an illegal formation of former conspirators and organizers of terrorist groups, headed by an inveterate ideologist of the fascist "Legion" from the period prior to 9 September 1944.

No, the words about human rights by no means conform with these people's actions. Their goals have nothing in common with the the goals of our socialist society, which has embarked on a path of overall restructuring and democratization. How can a former "Legion" member and agent provocateur be a "democrat"? Or, what about the author who conceived the program of the intended "movement," a program deprived of all "poetry," and in which this author urges "certain people's names be writtend down" and "their codesigns be left" so that they may be subject to retaliation as soon as the "Day of Judgment" comes?

It is evident that the competent legal organs had sufficient reasons to examine the documents of the so-called "society" and "movement," whose programs claim no less than "the opportunity of taking over the government within a few months."

Is there any law-governed state in the world that would not take action against a group of conspirators who pursue the goal of overthrowing a legally established government and of undermining the foundations of the social system?

The new political thinking which is making headway has already produced numerous positive results. Nevertheless, we can hardly add the aforementioned propaganda campaign to the manifestations of this new thinking. This and other similar actions would hardly contribute to the peaceful future of mankind, whose fear about the terrible threat of a devastating war has just been somewhat reassured. Rather, the aforementioned events express a coldness in mutual relations and the desire to obstruct the expansion of contacts and cooperation by applying the trick of exaggerating certain facts and omitting others, relying on the people's lack of information.

This is the truth.

Let everyone draw his own conclusions from these facts.

Dissident Manolov Reportedly on Hunger Strike

AU1102175489 Sofia BTA in English
1717 GMT 11 Feb 89

["On Petur Manolov's Hunger Strike"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 11 (BTA)—Lately some mass media in the West have been disseminating contradictory and, in many cases, biased untrue announcements, commentaries and statements in connection with the hunger strike of Bulgarian citizen Petur Manolov from Plovdiv. According to his own statement and that made by his wife, Manolov went on a hunger strike because the investigating authorities had seized his personal "literary archives".

As it has been already announced, on January 11, 1989, with a warrant issued by the Prosecutor's Office, papers were taken from Petur Manolov's home with the purpose of clearing up a number of facts and circumstances incriminating Manolov and some other persons of offenses of general character. A detailed list of the papers seized was made, and it was signed by Manolov's wife. It was explained personally to him that according to the operative laws, all the papers or separate documents can be kept for the purposes of the investigation. Despite that, Petur Manolov declared he was going on a hunger strike, thus trying to exert pressure and stir up ill-feeling against the lawful act of the investigating authorities.

Today it became known that after the check-up carried out in compliance with the law, the competent authorities returned to the Manolovs the last part of the archives as written down in the list: the documents of the so-called Independent Society for Protection of Human Rights.

On February 9 and 10, actuated by humane considerations and at the request of the Union of Bulgarian Writers, an expert medical team of the Higher Institute of Medicine in Plovdiv carefully examined Manolov. The commission, made up of Dr Andonova, associate professor and head of the Internal Diseases Clinic IV, Dr Stanchev, associate professor, of Internal Diseases Clinic II, and Dr Madzharov, chief assistant professor at the Department of Psychiatry, found that there are no reasons to worry about Manolov's state of health and that practically he is clinically healthy. There was a talk with Manolov and his wife. The state he is in from the medical point of view and the risks he is taking by putting himself on a prolonged starvation were explained to him in detail. Manolov does not want to go to hospital, but after the examination the medical commission deemed it not necessary to hospitalize him. According to to his own words, he has started taking salt-containing water solutions and vitamins, recommended to him by the district physician of Plovdiv Hospital II and today, as he said, he is feeling much better.

Jakes Discusses State of Polish Relations

AU0302185489 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 2 Feb 89 p 2

[Dalibor Macha report: "Talking to the Press"]

[Excerpts] Prague—Before our Polish guest W. Jaruzelski left Prague, the top party representatives of the CSSR and the PPR granted an interview to Czechoslovak and Polish journalists. They agreed on the intensive, purely working nature of the visit, which had contributed toward consolidating relations between the two countries. [passage omitted] In replying to journalists' questions, Comrade Milos Jakes spoke in favor of speeding up the implementation of higher forms of economic cooperation. At the same time, he spoke of the contacts between the two countries, stating that the first and foremost thing in these contacts is to intensify cooperation and specialization. Cooperation today accounts for about 25 percent of our mutual goods exchange, and it should therefore be enhanced, for we have real possibilities for this. We are concerned with setting up joint enterprises, but we also have realistic possibilities for broader cooperation on third markets. One could even engage in business activities together with a third partner. Of course, one must open up the scope for these forms and eliminate all factors which are currently hampering them in the spheres of foreign currency, prices, and so on. This is the basic path toward further developing these relations, toward increasing our mutual trade in the upcoming 5-year plan to more than R20 billion, compared with the 16 billion in the present 5-year plan.

We are interested in developing tourism, he went on to say, promoting it on the basis of partnership contacts between regions, districts, and plants. Speaking of possibilities for increasing tourism, he also remarked: One must create good prerequisites for this, and these depend on the stability of the market and on currency exchange rates. I hope that we will succeed in resolving these issues as well. If we want to create a uniform market in the future, one of the prerequisites for this is the people's having the possibility of traveling.

Zavadil Addresses URO Plenary Session

AU0602205589 Prague PRACE in Czech 3 Feb 89 p 2

["Opening speech" by Miroslav Zavadil, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Central Trade Union Council, to the sixth Central Trade Union Council plenary session in Prague on 2 February]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] Comrades: The statewide all-trade union conference adopted weighty decisions on the restructuring of the trade union organization itself, and on changes in the content of the activity, methods, and style of work of the trade union bodies and organizations. The sixth Central Trade Union Council [URO] plenary session approved concrete resolutions on changes in the organizational structure of trade unions.

What is the current situation like? Trade unions of employees in agriculture and employees in the foodstuffs industry merged into a single trade union in January. The Czech and Slovak committees for trade union work in the federally-run branches concluded their activities on 1 January 1989. To date, activities of individual bodies and their powers and mutual relations have been assessed in 11 trade unions. Rationalization measures resulted, among other things, in a reduction—by 35 percent—in the number of staffers of the apparatus. After the clarification of the setup of branches, these issues will also be resolved in the remaining unions—by 30 June 1989 at the latest.

After the organizational changes are carried out in all trade unions, we assume that of the existing 203 regional committees of trade unions, 95 of these committees will conclude their activities, and of the existing 877 district committees of trade unions, 660 committees will conclude their activities. The overall reduction of the apparatus in all the committees of trade unions will amount to approximately 30 percent.

At its 17 January session, the URO Presidium also approved changes in the URO apparatus, changes that went into effect on 1 February 1989. The youth, physical education, and sports department and the control department were abolished. The economic department merged with the production material and branch activity department. The number of staffers was reduced by 22 percent, after their number had already been reduced by 10 percent in 1986. [passage omitted]

More democracy must become evident in the preparation of cadres. In this respect, the resolution of the URO Presidium—on the basis of the proposal of the statewide all-trade union conference—implements two new recommendations: the possibility of electing members of newly proposed trade union bodies from a greater number of candidates, and the possibility of electing the chairman of a plant committee of the revolutionary trade union movement from two or more candidates. [passage omitted]

We cannot but condemn here the provocations that took place in Wenceslas Square in January. Yes, a distinction must be made among those who participated in them. Some of them were young people, inexperienced and only curious people who are not enemies of socialism. But these events were organized and provoked by enemies of socialism with the help of their Western patrons and Maecenases. Their purpose was not to support restructuring; it was rather an attempt to disrupt it. The organizers wanted—under slogans about democracy—to elicit tension and chaos, and to sow mistrust for socialism and the party program; to tarnish our fatherland by accusing it of disrespect for the conclusions of the Vienna conference.

On the basis of the broad response from primary organizations and work collectives from all parts of the Republic, we vehemently condemn these provocations and support measures that have been taken in the interest of restoring calm and order. [passage omitted]

Gorbachev, Ryzhkov Message on Earthquake Aid

LD0702164989 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1600 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Text] Soviet leaders Mikhail Gorbachev and Nikolay Ryzhkov have sent a letter to CSSR leaders Milos Jakes, Gustav Husak, and Ladislav Adamec, in which they praised the CSSR's assistance in overcoming the aftermath of the earthquake in Armenia. They noted that the CSSR's prompt, large-scale, and comprehensive assistance and the devoted and selfless work of Czechoslovak rescue team members, physicians, firemen, and other specialists, which eased people's suffering in the stricken areas, aroused feelings of profound gratitude in the Soviet people.

The truly nationwide extent of the assistance to the suffering that was rendered by Czechoslovak citizens, government and public organizations, enterprises, and cooperatives convincingly demonstrated the kind of sympathy and inward generosity that was aroused in the hearts of Czechs and Slovaks by the tragedy of the Armenian people.

The Soviet leadership and all Soviet people see in this assistance a convincing display of the inviolable friendship between the Soviet and Czechoslovak peoples and their fraternal solidarity, Comrades Mikhail Gorbachev and Nikolay Ryzhkov emphasize in their letter.

'Terrorist' Explosion in Usti nad Labem Noted

AU1002135589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Feb 89 p 1

["kr"-signed report from Usti nad Labem followed by "wt"-signed commentary: "A Terrorist Act; An Explosion in Usti nad Labem Damaged Part of the New Building of the Regional National Committee"]

[Text] Usti nad Labem (our correspondent)—In the early hours of Wednesday [8 February] morning (at 0240) a powerful explosion shook the center of Usti nad Labem. The explosives, whose origin has not yet been established, blew up in the atrium between the buildings of the regional national committee [KNV] and the national committee of the city of Usti nad Labem.

The explosion damaged part of the new, modern KNV building, which went into service in 1985. It also broke windows, glass paneling, and window displays in surrounding buildings. The material damage caused is significant.

No one was injured during the event. Teams of specialists were immediately on the spot to find clues and investigate the extent of the effects of the explosion. Although the investigation is still in progress, it is already now evident that this was demonstratively a terrorist act.

Several days before this incident, residents of the North Bohemian region were disturbed by anonymous bomb threats concerning various public buildings, department stores, and schools. The regional daily newspaper PRUBOJ wrote about this in its commentary on Tuesday [7 February].

On Wednesday [8 February], several hours after the explosion in the KNV building, Usti nad Labem's central station and the Bohemia international hotel had to be cleared and searched for similar reasons.

[Signed] kr

We have several times recently written in RUDE PRAVO about inhuman threats made by all kinds of strange persons against various institutions and individuals. They express hatred for everything socialist and end with a sketch of a gallows and a threat of bloodletting. Others threateningly announce that a bomb will explode in an important factory, in the Prague subway, or somewhere else, or even in a nursery school, on such and such a date.

In Usti nad Labem on Wednesday such a threat (even though in this case it was not announced) really took shape, thankfully without injury or even death. What aims can these people pursue, people who do not hesitate to detonate a dangerous charge in the center of a peaceful city? We will not conceal the fact that there are forces in our country who will never reconcile themselves to our social system. Therefore, they intimidate, they try to spread chaos, they want to introduce subversion into our life. They have no inhibitions, and they do not shrink from anything. There is no doubt that every sensible citizen will reject and condemn such terrorist intimidation. This has nothing in common with the effort of our working people to advance our economy and the development of democratization in society. It is impossible to overlook the fact that among us there also live people who have no aim other than to subvert our restructuring, under the slogan "the worse the better" (for them). Therefore, they stoop to terrorist acts. This is a method of struggle that these enemies want to force upon our people. This demands an adequate response: to increase vigilance and watchfulness everywhere, to protect the lives of people and socialist property. And inexorably, according to the law, to take action against all the perpetrators of the aforementioned acts.

[Signed] wt

Dissident Havel Indicted, Faces Prison Term

AU1002163989 Paris AFP in English
1634 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Text] Prague, Feb 10 (AFP)—Dissident Czechoslovak playwright Vaclav Havel was indicted here Friday [10 February] on charges carrying a possible prison term of up to two and a half years, his friends said.

Mr. Havel, 52, a leading member of the human rights organization Charter 77, is to be prosecuted for "incitement to criminal acts" and "obstructing public order". The charges carry prison terms of up to two years, and six months, respectively.

The playwright, who previously served five years in prison, was arrested January 16 during a demonstration here commemorating student Jan Palach's self-immolation 20 years ago to protest the Soviet invasion which crushed a brief period of reforms known as the Prague Spring.

Apart from his lawyer, no one has been allowed to visit Mr. Havel.

Two pacifists jailed during the same demonstration, Jana Petrova and Otakar Veverka, face up to two years in prison on charges of disturbing public order, the sources said.

Several other political prisoners have been detained since October. They include Hana Marvanova and Tomas Dvorak, both pacifists, and Ivan Jirous and Petr Cibulka, who belong to dissident cultural groups and are signatories of Charter 77.

Eva Vidlarova has been jailed since December for organizing actions in support of Mr. Cibulka.

Editorial on 'Irreversible Road' of Restructuring

AU0702141489 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
4 Feb 89 p 1

[Editorial: "Irreversible Road"]

[Excerpts] There are many factors that can, and will, determine the outcome of our reforms. The most important of them all are the people, our citizens, and the way that they accept the ideas of restructuring and of the development of socialist democracy—and particularly the way that they will help to implement them in practice. Of course, this is far more difficult than merely discussing restructuring, to welcome or to reject it. [passage omitted]

A broad social dialogue is a form of gathering together the richest experience possible, but also of finding the best proposals for resolving this or that problem.

We do not understand social dialogue as being a mere public discussion of this or that problem; we regard it as part and parcel of our socialist democracy. We know that it is essentially an irreplaceable form of winning over the citizens to our common cause, for verifying how correct are our views and how convincing are our arguments. [passage omitted]

In speaking of democracy and its development, and even of the democratization of our society, we do not forget to add that we mean socialist democracy—this must be openly said to anybody wanting to imbue the term democracy with the spirit of bourgeois democracy, based on the right to the private ownership of production means. Some people with a chip on their shoulder say that our society is not engaging them in social dialogue, but in reality they are not in the least interested in social dialogue. Their program is not socialism, in any of its forms—in fact, the publicized programmatic goals of the illegal groups prove this. Their program is to revert to the times prior to 1948, to gradually eliminate the nationalization of our industry.

A considerable number of our party members and our citizens are alarmed by a certain activation of antisocialist groups; some people even believe that this activation is actually made possible by restructuring and democratization. Were we to agree with this view, the logical conclusion would be that we must halt all restructuring and democratization. This would be a gross mistake.

It is only natural for every change to harbor its own risks. Whenever social life becomes more dynamic, whenever we find ourselves in a period of radical changes and try out new things, some people crop up and seize their chance to sponge off of these changes. In the Soviet Union, extreme views are called "foam," because foam always appears on rapid, violent torrents. But what is more important for society's movement—the stream or the foam?

The great tasks that society has set for itself need not only time—they also need a calm, orderly atmosphere. What they do not need is anarchy. Thus, the main thing is honest, creative work, good mutual relations among the people, and just remuneration—in short, all that is essential for restructuring work. Even so, we will have enough problems to cope with, enough discussions in which we will pound out our views, to use a simile. However, all these are normal aspects of a normal life. The abnormal thing would be rigidity, an administrative ordering about, and bossiness—all the things that so deplorably used to be part of our lives.

We must not be surprised, either, at the false pictures of the situation in our country painted by the Western communications media when they distort the substance of our political, economic, and social transformations. Driving wedges between individual socialist countries is part of their strategic line, as is setting the socialist countries against each other, distributing "grades" for good behavior, and classifying them.

Every country must accomplish its tasks and resolve its problems on its own, according to its specific conditions and needs. However, we of the family of states belonging to the socialist community have a great advantage in that we can learn from each another, use each others' experience, and—naturally—also avoid mistakes.

The events we are living through, and the discussions we are conducting, cannot affect the decision made by our party and the National Front: to take the path of restructuring and democratization. This road is irreversible. It is objectively necessary, and its consequences will benefit our working people and strengthen the positions of socialism and of peace.

Commentary Views NATO, Pact Arms Data

AU0302204889 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
2 Feb 89 p 7

[Bedrich Zagar commentary in the "Word on Events" column: "NATO Has Similar Possibilities"]

[Text] The Western information media are currently focusing attention on the publication of data on the strength of the Warsaw Pact member states' armed forces and arms in relation to NATO's armed forces, as well as on the unilateral reduction of troops and arms, and of defense spending by individual socialist countries. Naturally, the reactions are full of contradictions. After welcoming the publication of the data, as is only proper, the media point out their allegedly "unclear and imprecise" nature.

Proceeding from these remarks, one should perhaps stress once again that data on the Warsaw Pact's armed forces are absolutely precise and are the outcome of numerous consultations between the Pact states' defense ministries—in other words, their reliability is guaranteed by the governments of the socialist states. This, however, cannot be said of data coming from the NATO bloc. Even if such information does appear in the press from various sources, it is usually contradictory and not confirmed by anyone. That is why, in reviews on the correlation of Warsaw Pact and NATO armed forces and arms, the data on the Western military alliance are based on information supplied by the intelligence services of the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Pact states.

The differences between the data contained in releases issued by the Warsaw Pact's Defense Ministers Committee and in NATO releases are also due to the fact that the two sides have a different approach to the criteria for assessing individual types of arms. Let us take the number of tanks in the two military groupings as an example. Whereas the data supplied by the Warsaw Pact include all tanks without exception, NATO mentions a rather indefinite category of "main battle tanks." Moreover, NATO speaks of a mere 16,000 tanks deployed in its units—it does not mention further thousands of tanks mothballed in depots. The NATO tanks are said to be offensive weapons, and antitank missiles—in which NATO has supremacy—are termed defensive weapons, regardless of the fact that tanks and antitank missiles can be used both for attack and for defense, depending on one's intent.

However, disputes about the nature and utilization of weapons are not the main thing—such matters should be left to experts at the upcoming Warsaw Pact-NATO negotiations on reducing conventional armed forces and arms from the Atlantic to the Urals. The surprising thing is the way that the Warsaw Pact's disarmament initiatives have been received in the capitals of the Western states. Why are we hearing that Washington is concerned lest its West European allies should follow the example of the Warsaw Pact states? Brent Scowcroft, national security adviser to the U.S. President, warns that "Moscow's disarmament fireworks" should be curbed, because they are causing immense damage to NATO and "stimulating unrest in the Western alliance." It seems that Brent Scowcroft is taking upon himself the task of being the main curber of the disarmament process and, in fact, of Soviet-U.S. relations, which have been developing so well. He has dreamed up a whole number of arguments for slowing the positive development of international relations, basing his claims on the deduction that disarmament suits Moscow's interests, and that the cold war has allegedly not yet ended.

Scowcroft reproaches the Soviet Union outright for wanting to use the disarmament initiative for purposes of stabilization and to remove economic problems. Could it be that the United States has no economic problems of its own? Were Scowcroft to read with proper attention the interview that President George Bush gave to TIME magazine, he would find that he in fact contradicts his own president. In the United States it is generally said that Bush must now suffer the consequences of the "successes of Reaganomics." George Bush also said in the interview that he had already acquainted himself with the U.S. deficit figures and that he found them "atrocious." How will he get rid of these "atrocious" figures, if he has promised the American people that he will not raise taxes on any account? The only acceptable possibility would be to cut down the enormous military spending.

After all, if Brent Scowcroft believes that the disarmament initiatives of the socialist countries are harming and alarming the NATO countries, and if he concedes that the United States does have economic difficulties, then why is nobody in Washington calling for a disarmament offensive, so as to "alarm" the Warsaw Pact states with peace proposals and unilateral disarmament measures? Surely NATO, too, has this possibility.

Commentary Examines Causes of Youth Discontent

AU0402144489 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 2 Feb 89 p 5

[Commentary by Josef Holy: "A Short Contemplation—Today a Major Topic"]

[Text] The significance of topics changes according to how urgently they relate to the most relevant problems of society. And so I think it is necessary to touch upon a topic that has appeared quite often in our mass media—and we have written quite a few contemplations on it—but somehow it was always a peripheral and a minor topic. However, after the recent events in Wenceslas Square in Prague, I believe it can finally be raised to figure among bigger topics, perhaps even major ones. And to such an extent that it could arouse the interest of our governments and National Front organizations.

The topic is youth and how we look after them. It is said that the foundation of everything is the family. Good. But today it can no longer take care of everything—this simply is not possible. It is necessary to understand this. School—that again ought to first of all provide an education. And young people's free time, their interests, their activities, and therefore their upbringing, ought to be taken care of by professionals, first and foremost the state, and society as a whole. And society ought to be interested in why educators at all levels, employees in houses for Pioneers and young people, leaders of amateur artistic groups and technical and sports teams, and cultural employees in general, are so badly paid and have such working conditions that only true enthusiasts or people who cannot hold down a better paying job can carry this out. Why is the material and social status of the bar owner, under whose wing young people take refuge mainly out of boredom, better than theirs? Why are conditions not created for the immediate satisfaction and development of the needs of young people? Why is there no equipment for modern sports? Why do young people have to look for it in the West? Just as is the case of their preferred participatory music, because we "officially" still give priority to the mostly banal songs of pop music "stars" instead of the really vivacious music, which therefore completely and paradoxically vegetates in the background (and into the bargain with the captivating label of forbidden fruit)?.... There are many of these "whys," but this is only a short contemplation, a gloss. I cannot dissect and evaluate the matter in a couple of lines. I can only turn attention to some of the roots that most of all lead to a certain social deprivation of some groups of our young people.

New L-610 Passenger Aircraft Demonstrated

AU0302123189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 2 Feb 89 p 2

[CTK report: "New Czechoslovak Aircraft Presented to the Public"]

[Text] Uherske Hradiste—The Let enterprise in Uherske Hradiste-Kunovice displayed its new L-610 aircraft to the public for the first time on Wednesday [1 February]. Even the foggy weather did not prevent chief pilot Frantisek Srnec and his test crew from flying the aircraft, for its capabilities are up to world standards. The basic technical requirements for the 40-passenger aircraft were laid down in 1984, and work on the five prototypes of this model is currently in the final stages. The first aircraft produced in the series will come out in 1990.

The L-610 aircraft is meant to transport passengers on local routes, using airports with both artificial and natural surfaces. It can fly in difficult meteorological conditions. It has a roughly 26-meter wingspan, is 22 meters long, and can carry commercial loads up to 3,800 kg. Its flying speed is 400-490 km per hour, and it needs about 1,200 meters to land on a natural-surface airstrip.

The efforts of designers, workers, technicians, and management staff were appraised by CPCZ Central Committee Secretary Frantisek Hanus, who underscored the devotion with which they had succeeded in attaining their goal.

Honecker Grants Interview to Youth Journal

AU1202060189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9 Feb 89 pp 3-4

["Exclusive" interview with Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, by Hans-Dieter Schuett and Peter Neumann, published by JUNGE WELT in Berlin on 8 February: "Our Revolution Remains Young With Marx, Engels, Lenin"; date not given]

[Text] [Question] Comrade Erich Honecker, in your speech on the 70th anniversary of the KPD's founding, you quoted Karl Liebknecht: "The surge of events beats as high as the heavens. We are used to being thrown down from the peaks to the depths. However, our ship holds to its straight course, firm and proud, to the destination. Whether we shall still be alive when it is reached or not, our program will live, and it will rule the world of those of mankind who are rescued, despite everything!"

Is this statement indisputable?

[Honecker] In all cases. History has proved it, nationally and internationally. Today the red flag of victory and of the liberation of peoples is already flying over one-third of the earth, from the Elbe to the Pacific, from the Pacific to the Caribbean. More than 1.5 billion people are on the course pointed out by Marx, Engels, and Lenin. Other peoples, especially former colonial peoples, have the socialist orientation in mind during the revolutionary restructuring of their countries. Our party, the party of the communists, will, as I stated recently, consistently continue its course of socialist development, in close solidarity with our people.

If one has taken a course that is found to be right, one has to further pursue it. Those who have not yet taken this course have to be won for it. This is our political mission as communists. For what we are striving for is the most beautiful and rewarding thing one can ever strive for: the liberation of mankind from exploitation and suppression, a world without imperialist wars, a world of peace.

I remember well that my father explained to me in his simple way at that time, in the days of the 1918 November Revolution and in the years of the revolutionary postwar crisis, why the rich are rich and the poor are poor, what causes wars, who profits by them, and who suffers from them. This was convincing. I made up my mind to dedicate my life to the struggle for a world of socialism and peace. I have stuck to this lifelong task until today.

Thus, a clear world view results from Marxism-Leninism. Some people claim that Marxism-Leninism has become outdated because of several events in other socialist countries. Of course, this is not correct. This is shown by the very fact that, according to the laws of the development of human society which were revealed by Marx and Engels, socialism is the only alternative to capitalism.

I completely agree with you that it is essential to help every young person even better to correctly classify the various daily political events and to evaluate them according to the basic truths of our Marxist-Leninist world view. It is good that the FDJ again and again tackles politico-ideological work in this way.

[Question] What is the most important basic truth in this context?

[Honecker] That socialism, as I have already stated, is the only alternative to capitalism. This is the most decisive question. Young people have to know and feel that our policy and the actions of our Republic, according to its historical mission, mean the young people's happiness and future. In the struggles of our time the young people have an active position in life if every adolescent really knows the course of our worker-peasant state, which has been accompanied by hard class struggles, contradictions, and conflicts, but has always been successful, and if he identifies himself with the perspectives of our development. The clearer his concepts of friend and enemy, of the world and his socialist homeland, the more active this position in life will be.

[Question] We are in the 40th year of the founding of our state and, according to the decision of the seventh session of the SED Central Committee, we already have the 12th party congress in 1990 in mind.

[Honecker] Yes, this is really a great thing, not only in our party's life, but in the lives of all people and, of course, of the young people, too. This decision was connected with the conviction that the preparation of the party congress will contribute to meeting all requirements of our program and the time with even greater elan, farsightedness, and responsibility.

The 12th SED Congress will deal with those tasks on which the further shaping of the developed socialist society will focus in the nineties. In this way we will continue our revolutionary program on German soil. Our party's social strategy sets the course. It also shows the way to successfully master the new challenges. I talk of new challenges because socialism is not something that has been completed once and for all, but it is constantly renewing itself. In the implementation of our general line, we take every step according to the tested dialectics of continuity and innovation. This means not permitting tested things to be questioned and parting with everything that prevents us from advancing in order to tackle new tasks—with circumspection, courage, and once again, courage.

[Question] This immediately reminds us of Brecht's and Dessau's "Aufbaulied" ["Construction Song"]: "...we must take care of ourselves, and whoever dares to oppose us should do so!" The FDJ has always tackled its tasks with this self-confidence. The young people have always been able to be very self-confident: As one of its first laws, the People's Chamber passed the youth bill on 8 February 1950. You helped to formulate and adopt this bill. Why is it important from today's point of view?

[Honecker] At that time, as chairman of the People's Chamber Youth Committee, I was able to justify the first youth draft bill before the supreme people's representation. Its exact title was "Law on the Young People's Participation in Schools and Professions, in Sports and Recreation." Thus, the "basic rights of the young generation" which the FDJ advocated were embodied and extended in the law.

For the first time, the parliament of a German state did not just resolve individual irrelevant promotion measures as is common in capitalist states in the form of "youth welfare." On the contrary, the young generation has been trusted and entrusted with responsibility in the widest sense of the word. Here it has been shown that it is our policy to support the young people, together with the young people.

Of course, more rights and tasks mean, at the same time, a higher standard for one's own work. In the meantime, the third youth law, which follows the principle of "confidence in the young people and responsibility" has come into force. It is really a pleasure to see how young people are taking advantage of this opportunity. You have talked about your self-confidence. I agree with you and state that it is a great humanist task to continue this youth policy. This always results in new challenges for the FDJ because every young generation has its own experiences, its own points of view and questions. This makes it necessary to always find new answers, to acquire new knowledge, and to always combine the love for the cause with much love for the people for whose happiness we are struggling, for it is the purpose of socialism to do everything for the people's welfare. Thus, it is imperative to mutually enable ourselves to meet high living standards by high performances.

[Question] During the meeting with the Secretariat of the FDJ Central Council last December, you pointed out in this context that the communists, according to V.I. Lenin, are a party of innovators, and the future belongs to the innovators. On the whole, you explicitly recommended the study of the classical authors during this FDJ meeting. Why?

[Honecker] It is the great merit of Marx and Engels that they have linked scientific socialism with the workers movement. We deduce from this the commitment to further use the theory of scientific socialism as a basis for our actions. As is generally known, our theory is not a dogma, but a guideline for actions.

According to Karl Marx, party platforms are landmarks before the whole world, which are taken as standards for the party movement. According to Friedrich Engels, a self-confident class party is necessary to lead the proletariat to victory and to construct a new society, and, according to Lenin, an army of steeled revolutionaries is needed to be able to govern. These are decisive words which today also confirm our conviction that we will be able to solve the tasks that lie ahead of us.

[Question] Comrade Honecker, what confirmed your conviction as a young communist that your ideals are the right ones?

[Honecker] First of all, of course, the topical tasks of the communists' children's and youth organizations, which were active and had to make great sacrifices in the Weimar time, but also during the Nazi rule. On what was our conviction of the victory of our idea based? First, there was the existence of the young Soviet power. Secondly, there were the books which we studied in the youth classes after the 1918-19 German November Revolution. These youth classes mostly took place in the evening because we were all working. I think of such books as the "Communist Manifesto," "Paid Labor and Capital," "Wages, Price, and Profit," and others. Moreover, we read novels: Karl Gruenberg's "Burning Ruhr," Hans Marchwitza's "Storming Essen," Erich Wollenberg's "As a Soldier of the Red Army Before Munich," to mention only a few of them. This was our literature. We did not yet have comprehensive editions of Marx, Engels, and Lenin. They were not available before 1945. Thinking of my youth, our songs, revolutionary songs, the songs of those who defended the Munich Raeterepublik [republic governed by commissars], the songs of the red sailors, and of course the song "On Sunny Roads Three Laughing Girls Passed By" should not be forgotten.

[Question] Thus, is it never too early to initiate young people into politics?

[Honecker] When we established the Young Pioneers' Association in the FDJ in December 1948, there were many who believed that the children have to be shielded from politics. We were of a different opinion. As early as at the age of 10, I saw that children were confronted with politics. They were either with the workers or with those who were against the workers.

At an early age, children have to be made to understand the demands of life, which include politics, in order to convey the feeling of social responsibility to them. Of course, the joy of living will not be neglected.

[Question] For us, who have grown up in socialism, it has always been hard to imagine what the joy of living meant to the proletarian children at that time, to those, for example, who went to a school where the teachers beat them.

[Honecker] In this context, I am reminded of a struggle against the "striking arguments" of a voice teacher who used to appropriately keep his cane in a violin case. When he forgot to take along the violin case, which happened now and then, he sent pupils to fetch it. Once when I was ordered to do so, I opened the case on the way, broke the cane, this instrument of submissiveness, and threw it into the Blies. Of course the teacher who beat us procured a new cane. However, a signal had been given, and our self-confidence increased. Later we put a newspaper on his desk. On the last page there was a column entitled "Bock, the Flogger." Of course we also had good teachers and wanted to learn. In the time of the Nazis, I was pleased that the director of the school that I had attended sent me greetings when I was in the Brandenburg-Groeden prison.

[Question] When you quoted Marx before, you called the party platform a landmark which is taken as a standard for the party movement by the whole world. Lenin pointed out that the history of revolutions is always more significant, diversified, lively, "tricky" than the best parties can imagine.

[Honecker] V.I. Lenin, just like Karl Marx, regarded history as a history of class struggles. For him it was important that a communist understands its lessons. He regarded the revolutions as the engines of history. At the same time, he pointed out that the revolutions are implemented by fully using "all human abilities, the conscience, will, passion, and the fantasy of millions." The party's relations of deep trust with the working people, its continuous deliberations with them, the readiness to take their opinions, critical hints, and proposals into account, are of basic importance for any efficient policy.

If we look back on the creation and growth of the GDR, from the ruins of the year 1945, the founding of the GDR in 1949, up to now, we realize what mental power and human hands are able to create. Five years ago, I laid the foundation stone for the new residential area in Berlin-Schoenhausen. In October 1988, I handed over the 3-millionth apartment that was built in the GDR since the year 1971. This is an outstanding achievement. We have established a tremendously efficient construction industry; we had to create a strong industry with many branches to ensure decent equipment for the apartments. In former times, daughters received used furniture from their parents when they married. Nowadays many young people often have new furniture when they move into their apartments. Very often it is only nostalgic when children take something with them from their parents' household.

Over 200,000 apartments every year—this means a great deal from the point of view of the creativity of man, on all levels of our social life! An apartment must not only be equipped with a toilet, bathroom, and shower, but also with carpets, curtains, a refrigerator, a washing machine, a television set, and many other things. An apartment should not only be a shelter but should help promote the development of the family, especially the development of children.

I want to use this as an example which illustrates that many things have been achieved through our republic's efficiency which we hardly dared to dream about in earlier times. We are happy about this, and we do not have to apologize to anyone for the fact that the citizens in the GDR are doing well today.

[Question] Nobody has claimed that all housing problems will be solved by the year 1990.

[Honecker] Of course we will not eliminate the construction trade in 1990. This would be nonsense. In that case, I would commit a sin against my own trade. It will continue to be necessary to build new apartments, nicer ones and larger ones. However, we will solve the housing problem as a social issue. Nobody will have to sleep under a bridge in the future, nor in the slums of capital cities like in the Western world.

We will continue to act in accordance with the old German proverb: Freedom about which I speak, tell me what you are talking about—my freedom or your freedom, there is nothing else! [proverb as published] This is the heart of the matter: Freedom for socialism, for its people. In the West, the working people are still struggling for their freedom. The slogan of the French Revolution—freedom, equality, fraternity—is very nice indeed, but it has not been realized in any capitalist country.

[Question] You spoke about economy in the service of social policy in the interests of the workers. We are currently defending our socialist planned economy against dubious proposals from all kinds of quarters. Is it possible to summarize the methods of our economic management?

[Honecker] The deep insight in the economic laws of socialism and the conditions under which they are applied has repeatedly turned out to be a key problem in the current stage of the construction of the new society in our republic. Increasing prosperity of the people and higher efficiency of the national economy cannot be achieved beside or outside these rules. To take them conscientiously into consideration and to bear them in mind, and to apply them with knowledge and mastery, has proved to be the only viable way in our country to achieve good and lasting economic results.

This is an experience that has been confirmed time and again, a Marxist-Leninist truth that must always be borne in mind. Here is the dividing line between scientific policy and subjectivism in the economy. Of course, the desire to meet important demands of social development even faster than exact accounting permits is understandable. However, such wishful thinking exerts an influence on specific decisions and can thus lead to a loss of time instead of a gain of time. Subjectivism in economic matters always involves high costs.

[Question] At the meeting with the Secretariat of the FDJ Central Council you said that it is important to examine everyday what can be done to further strengthen the worker-peasant power on German soil. Young construction workers from our "FDJ Initiative Berlin" then publicly expressed their ideas on how working hours can be used more efficiently.

[Honecker] Let me first say that I am very impressed by the tasks and goals that you yourselves set at the 10th Central Council meeting in order to fulfill the 1989 National Economic Plan. As a matter of fact, the implementation of the National Economic Plan is the basis for the further social development of the GDR. On its basis, the economy can meet in an increasingly better way the people's social, cultural, and intellectual needs.

In all stages of its struggle, our party has taken into account Karl Liebknecht's insight that a revolution without the young is only half a revolution. The FDJ has proved itself as a revolutionary young guard in the struggles of our time. This confirms our belief that the young will carry the banner of the achievements of socialism over the threshold of the new millenium, and that it will steadfastly advocate the ideals of socialism.

I think what you said about working hours is very important. The aim of the 1989 National Economic Plan is to achieve a greater performance increase through a high level of dynamism and stability, increasing efficiency and higher quality. In this connection, it is necessary to link performance increase with the full utilization of working hours. As far as working hours are concerned, the level of discipline is not high enough in various sectors. It is true that workers are paid according to their achievements, but working hours are not used to the last minute everywhere. This represents a central problem in the further development of our socialist program, because the dynamism of the national economy is decisive for its implementation.

Over 43,000 youth brigades in the GDR are making a valuable contribution to the implementation of our party's economic strategy. We consider it extremely important to steadily improve the quality of this movement in the spirit of its long-standing tradition, because youth brigades are accomplishing exemplary achievements in socialist competition and promote the development of young personalities, primarily from the workers' youth, that our society needs. I must say they are wonderful girls and boys.

Just think: We cannot act in the same way as the capitalists do. The situation there at construction sites, for example, is as follows: It is the foreman who give the orders. We had this experience recently when we dispatched some construction workers to the West. There it is not possible to take a 10-minute cigarette break during working hours. The foreman says: Now everybody works and those who do not obey will be fired. This is the harsh law of capitalism.

[Question] It is this pressure that ultimately forms the basis of the market economy of the capitalists.

[Honecker] They only speak of "market economy." We were the ones who added the word "capitalist," which, of course, pertains to it. Of course, it is not correct that the market does not play a certain role in socialism. I cannot think of a period in the GDR when the market did not play a certain role. First, there was the black market. We always tried to eliminate it. However, this was not achieved through police raids but by starting production. Production did indeed start, despite the fact that enterprises were dismantled within the framework of reparations until reparations had to be paid in 1956. Our workers have always received payment according to their achievements. I do not remember anything else. This principle may not always have been exactly realized, but in theory it has never been questioned. It has always been the basis of our national economy. If today we look at the direct contribution of our combines and cooperatives to social security, the intellectual-cultural life of their employees, their sports and tourist activities, and if we bear in mind in what direct way economic and scientific-technological progress serve the well-being of the entire people, we can say without exaggeration that this reveals the nature of our planned economy, of the unity of economic and social policy. Our economy is oriented toward the demands, the needs, in short, the interests of all of us; it uses the market, and is not aimed at yielding profit for a few, as is the case in the capitalist market economy.

[Question] At the seventh session of the SED Central Committee you stressed that the standard of living is actually higher in the GDR than in the FRG.

[Honecker] It is a fact that the GDR's housing program is unparalleled. Since 1971 we have fundamentally improved the immediate living conditions of over 50 percent of our population, who were given new apartments. Currently you are witnessing how people in Berlin (West) and the FRG are taking to the streets, demanding an end to the housing shortage. In West Berlin, for example, 3,000 new apartments are required. At the same time, over 30,000 apartments are built every year in the GDR capital.

Let us talk about other issues, such as full employment, which means that every young person has the opportunity to receive vocational training, that everybody has the chance to pursue a career that would not have been open to him some time ago. Let me take the example of an ordinary forester. This used to be a very prestigious post, and, together with the pastor and the teacher, he used to be invited by the count to attend celebrations. In our society everybody can become a forester. I do not only speak about access to universities and technical schools but also about the great interest of the young in cultural places—also in Berlin—such as the Palace of the Republic, the German Theater, the Kammerspiele theater, the opera, the Schauspielhasu theater, the Friedriechstadt Palace, the TiP theater, the Volksbuehne theater, and the sports and recreation center. This is different in the West, not to speak of the content which leaves quite a few people dissatisfied. In terms of the standard of living, including the principle "the same wages for the same work," everything is better in the GDR than in the Western world. This is an advantage that is uncontested and cannot be ignored.

At the Seventh SED Congress in April 1967 I asked the question: What would have become of the gentlemen capitalists if the East had had 120 furnaces and the West only 4, and not the other way around? What would the gentlemen capitalists have done if we had had 93 percent of the iron and steel producing industry and they over 7 percent, and not the other way around?

That the GDR belongs to the most advanced industrial nations today is not primarily due to the fact that the former Germany was an industrial country. As we all know, this has often been claimed by the West. The truth is that our people, through its own strength and because of the vigorous support of our Soviet friends, removed the ruins of World War II, overcame chaos and misery, and created a modern socialist industrialized state. The construction of our national economy was all the more difficult because the GDR's opponents did not spare any efforts to prevent this. Today one can state that the working people have learned how to manage a modern socialist industry.

[Question] Being young people who are growing up under worker-peasant rule, it is difficult for us to imagine this because our basic feeling during this period was: Things were getting better; food ration cards were abolished, for example. All this happened amid the cold war against socialism, with an open border toward the FRG and West Berlin. What efforts did this require on the part of the GDR?

[Honecker] As early as in 1948, a ruthless economic boycott was started against the GDR from FRG territory. Arbitrary impediment of interstate trade relations, the recruitment of labor in the GDR, particularly of qualified specialists, as well as economic sabotage by paid agents—all this was aimed at the destruction of the GDR.

Respected West German social democrats, such as the late economic scientist Fritz Baade pointed out at the time that "in moral terms the FRG owes the GDR M100 billion in reparations" for damages that had been caused by the economic war against the GDR, but also for reparations worth $4.3 billion that had been paid by our republic for the whole of Germany. According to our calculations, the losses that we suffered between 1951 and 1961 amount to a production loss of about M112 billion. The costs that accrued for the training of labor that had been enticed away amounted to M16 billion.

Everybody who tries to see things objectively realizes that enormous efforts were required to compensate to some degree for the tremendous losses that our country suffered. Even later, when our border with the FRG and West Berlin was reliably protected, the influence of the aggressive imperialist policy on the GDR's economic growth was still felt in various ways. As a result of the purposeful harm that was done to the GDR, we achieved an increase in the national income of barely M7 billion between 1960 and 1963, in spite of all our efforts. The losses that we suffered amounted approximately to our country's economic investments between 1950 and 1961. If we had not been deprived of this sum, we would have been able to build 4 million apartments, for example, or 100 steel works with a production capacity of one million tonnes each.

[Question] Pride in the achievements—this is something that we, as FDJ members, will express at our Whitsun meeting in Berlin. This is the FDJ celebration of the 40th anniversary of the GDR. What do you wish from the participants in this meeting?

[Honecker] Everyone is to feel the great power of society, is to experience the new things in the streets and squares of Berlin in order to return home with unforgettable impressions. Our capital city is now a totally different city than in the past. Even those who participated in the meeting 5 years ago will see many new things in the Nikolay Quarter and in other places in the inner city. Host parents now live in Hellersdorf and Hohenschoenhausen, city districts that existed only in the plans drawn up by architects and town planners 5 years ago. The young people have energetically helped in achieving all this, as they did in all bezirks and kreise.

We are sure that this is one of the reasons why the citizens of our capital city will be friendly and attentive hosts to the FDJ members from all bezirks. What is important is that the girls and boys actually go to their accomodations. Sometimes beds were reportedly prepared but the young people did not have time to go there.

[Question] In the statute of our youth association a principle is laid down which you decisively helped to enforce: its unity. For us this is a great achievement which we do not allow to be impaired. How much struggle was needed after the war to get a majority for this most important feature of our FDJ?

[Honecker] Both in the ranks of the KPD and of the SPD there were views that separate, party-affiliated youth organizations would be better and that only later should they be united, like the two parties. Only in this way could the leading role of the workers' youth be preserved, which cannot be guaranteed in a unified organization that comprises all young people. Protestant and Catholic circles tried to form church-affiliated youth associations. Some people thought that a unified organization could not represent the manifold interests of the young people. Frequently we had to oppose the view that former members of fascist youth organizations, such as the German Girls' League (BDM) and the Hitler Youth (HJ), must not be included in youth work because first they had to stand their test. Wilhelm Piek made a public statement on the inclusion of all young people in the democratic reconstruction. The view that the young people are not mature enough for political work or that politics is detrimental to young people was very widespread at that time.

Thus, it is not difficult to understand that all these views aimed at questioning the necessary unity of the youth movement. However, we did not let ourselves be shaken and we advocated our conviction—consolidated by our own experiences—that only a unified youth organization would live up to the historic situation and corresponded to the interests of all young people. In protracted, partly vehement discussions, we won most of our partners over to forming a unified antifascist youth organization. This was prepared by youth committees in towns and in the countryside, to which all democratic forces, including church representatives, belonged.

[Question] During the torchlight procession of the FDJ on 11 October 1949 you presented the "oath of the German youth." How was this day for you?

[Honecker] I remember exactly. The day started with a discussion of leading functionaries in the FDJ Central Council. After all, for the first time hundreds of thousands of girls and boys, who had excelled in the antifascist-democratic changes and in the forming of our unified youth association, would come to a joint manifestation to Berlin, the capital city of our newly founded republic. Would all young people arrive in Berlin on time despite the still existing difficulties in transportation? What would be their mood?

A few hours later, on the way to the joint session of the Provisional People's Chamber and the Provisional Lower Chamber of Parliament, we already felt the expectant atmosphere. In several places in the town we already met young people in their blue shirts and the FDJ banners.

In the evening Berlin experienced the most powerful demonstration and manifestation of the postwar period in our country until then. Unter den Linden, in Bebel Square, more than 1 million Berliners and working people from all parts of the republic gathered. Together with 200,000 FDJ representatives they celebrated the election of Wilhelm Pieck, a carpenter and a communist, as president and expressed their affinity to the first German worker-peasant state. Torches were alight as far as one could see. After the World Youth Song had been sung, Berlin's Mayor Friedrich Ebert opened the demonstration. As FDJ chairman I was given the floor to present to Wilhelm Pieck the "oath of the German youth." It ended with the vow: "We, the German youth, swear loyalty to the GDR, because it wants to and will bring peace and a better life to the young people.... We want to be builders of our new house of peaceful work and militant humanity!"

[Question] It is astonishing when one hears what you said about the founding of the GDR in 1949—compared with the fact that the symbol of peaceful togetherness is linked to the concept of a common home again today, 40 years later.

[Honecker] Humanity and struggle for peace belong together, and it is clear that the young people are mobilizing their forces especially for the preservation of peace. A peaceful future is the most important guarantee for the ability of the young generation to implement their ideas of a meaningful life. The happiness of the youth of all nations is based on peace—as it is so aptly put in the World Youth Song. Therefore, it has to be made sure that the imperialist forces express their willingness for further disarmament negotiations and let their words be followed by deeds. I stress this because one must never forget—as I also said at the seventh Central Committee session—that peace does not come out of nothing. There must constantly be the readiness for disarmament and, at the same time, the readiness for strengthening socialism.

[Question] In this connection some young people ask about the prospects of military service.

[Honecker] Like the work for the course of the unity of economic and social policy serves the strengthening of our work for peace, in socialism military service also is an indispensable service for peace. We are very proud of how responsibly the young people are fulfilling this duty of honor, even though we do not overlook that some have illusions about how secure peace already is today. In the 1950's the FDJ delegated many of the best from their ranks to the barracks for the reliable protection of our socialist fatherland, and in August 1961 thousands of FDJ members in the FDJ regiments stood guard. This remains a binding tradition of the youth association and a binding traditions, of course, also as a matter of our entire society.

Even though at present the winds of international politics have abated a bit, we must not forget for one moment what is happening in Nicaragua, in South Africa, or in the Middle East; we must not forget what it means that NATO continues with the arms buildup, that further success in the field of disarmament of intermediate-range missiles is to be destroyed through the modernization of various weapons systems, and that NATO continues to stick to the concept of forward defense and nuclear deterrence. Of course, there are people at work who have not changed, who still are today what they were yesterday.

We are particularly concerned about the fact that among these people there are also influential forces of the FRG. How are we to understand the fact that on the one hand the FRG Government assures us of its intention that war shall never again start from German soil but only peace and in the Joint Communique during my visit it obligated itself to the development of good-neighborly relations, but, on the other hand, it signals to its NATO allies that it will publicly support the modernization of short-range nuclear weapons and it again and again interferes in internal GDR affairs?

Our GDR is making an initiative-rich contribution to the joint peace program of socialism in every respect. In the future, too, we will continue to work with all our strength so that the disarmament process is continued in the interests of mankind's secure present and future. It remains our goal to free the world from nuclear weapons. The start of nuclear disarmament through the current scrapping of the intermediate-range missiles confirms our view that this great dream of mankind can become reality. After the elimination of the intermediate-range missiles, a start could and should be made with nuclear-free zones in central Europe and chemical-weapon-free zones in Europe and in other parts of the world. There is no doubt that this also involves disarmament in the conventional sphere: the reduction of armed forces and armaments. Of course, the success of these plans depends not only on our will and on our energy. It depends on the worldwide antiwar movement and it depends on whether the world conscience effectively determines the world development. A great contribution to this is the unilateral reduction of conventional armed forces and armaments, which is undertaken by the USSR, the GDR, the CSSR, the PPR, the Hungarian People's Republic, the SR of Romania, and the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

[Question] On 7 May local elections will be held in our republic. What does being a people's representative mean?

[Honecker] Proving one's worth as a people's deputy means doing everything for the benefit of the people, not only during election time, but all the time in daily work. It means maintaining close contact with one's voters, knowing their ideas about local and social matters and initiatives, taking their suggestions seriously, and working for the complete implementation of our policy in their interest. Of course, this also requires personal steadfastness and technical knowledge—especially in local policy. The decisive issue is that the FDJ leaderships nominate such friends as candidates for the local elected assemblies who are known among the youth because of their work and their social dedication and have a good reputation among the voters, because they are not only elected by the young people but by all voters.

It has been repeatedly confirmed that the direct participation in social matters is the best way of fully making use of one's democratic rights and duties. Coresponsibility and specific work for necessary changes have always been better than grumbling and an "I know better" attitude. We all know what still has to be done and everyone is called upon—in particular in connection with the seventh SED Central Committee session—to help. Socialism has room for everyone, and it needs everyone.

We have to talk to everyone and we have to try to win over everyone; however, at the same time, we have to nip any provocation in the bud. This is one of the tasks of the youth association. It is a task that we have to always keep in mind.

[Question] Why did you stress at the seventh Central Committee session that every party organization and every comrade has to consider it its or his task to always work among the young people, to deal with them in all situations with trust and responsibility, and to make them aware even more clearly of the dialectics of the international class struggle?

[Honecker] Young people expect our party to give clear and concrete answers to the questions that move them and that they sometimes pose in an urgent and exacerbated way. Therefore, all party leaderships should take care that every comrade considers it his duty to maintain a steady political dialogue with the young people and to react to their questions with open-mindedness, tact, and convincing arguments.

This dialogue starts in the family and is continued at school and everywhere where young people learn, study, work, and stand guard for peace in our society. Experience says that the most convincing argument always is one's own attitude, one's own steadfastness and attitude toward's one work: the correspondence of word and deed. This is what distinguishes and should always distinguish our party. As is known, there is nothing as convincing as one's own good example.

[Question] Comrade Erich Honecker, we thank you very much for this interview.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 26 Jan-8 Feb

AU1002183789

[Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German from 27 January to 9 February reports the following public appearances of GDR leaders (date of publication and page number in parentheses):

Egon Krenz, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee (CC), and Army General Erich Mielke, member of the SED CC Politburo and minister of state security, attended a ceremony in Berlin during which Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, promoted meritorious state security officers; date not given. (1 Feb, p 1)

Werner Krolikowski, Politburo member and secretary of the SED CC, and Gerhard Mueller, candidate member of the SED CC Politburo and first secretary of the Erfurt Bezirk leadership, attended a party aktiv meeting of peasants, gardeners, agricultural scientists, and representatives of the foodstuffs industry in Erfurt on 26 January. (27 Jan, p 6)

Guenter Kleiber, first deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and member of the SED CC Politburo, and Gerhard Schuerer, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, candidate member of the SED CC Politburo, and chairman of the State Planning Commission, held talks with Bohumil Urban, first deputy chairman of the CSSR Government, chairman of the State Planning Commission, and chairman of the CSSR side of the Joint CSSR-GDR Economic Committee, in Berlin on 30 January. (31 Jan, pp 1, 2)

Army General Erich Mielke and Egon Krenz attended a ceremony during which meritorious employees of the Ministry of State Security were awarded orders in Berlin on 3 February. (4-5 Feb, p 2)

Hermann Axen, Politburo member and secretary of the SED CC, attended a meeting between Erich Honecker and Volodia Teitelboim and Hugo Faszio, members of the Political Commission and Secretariat of the CC of the Communist Party of Chile, in Berlin on 2 February. (3 Feb, p 1) Hermann Axen paid a visit to the Embassy of the Republic of Mali on the occasion of the death of Boubacar Diallo, deputy general secretary of the Mali People's Democratic Union, in Berlin on 8 February. (9 Feb, p 2)

Horst Dohlus, Politburo member and secretary of the SED CC, received a delegation of the CC of the Brazilian Communist Party headed by Hermano de Paiva, CC member and secretary of the State Leadership of the Brazilian Communist Party in Rio Grande do Norte, in Berlin on 26 January. (27 Jan, p 2)

Werner Eberlein, member of the SED CC Politburo and first secretary of the Magdeburg Bezirk leadership, attended a conference of industrial representatives in Magdeburg on 3 February. (4-5 Feb, p 3) Werner Eberlein addressed the participants in a course of the Marxism-Leninism work group in Magdeburg on 6 February. (7 Feb, pp 1-2)

Kurt Hager, Politburo member and secretary of the SED CC, attended a reception given at the French Cultural Center in Berlin on 27 January. (28-29 Jan, p 2) Kurt Hager attended the opening of the Eighth GDR Historians' Congress in Berlin on 31 January. (1 Feb, p 1) Kurt Hager attended a meeting between Erich Honecker and Jan Fojtik, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ CC, in Berlin on 3 February. (4-5 Feb, p 1)

Joachim Herrmann, Politburo member and secretary of the SED CC, received Jan Fojtik, member of the Presidium and member of the CPCZ Central Committee, in Berlin on 3 February. (4-5 Feb, p 2)

Egon Krenz, Politburo member and secretary of the SED CC, received a CPCZ delegation headed by Rudolf Hegenbart, member of the CPCZ CC and director of the State Administration Department of the CC, in Berlin on 27 January. (28-29 Jan, p 2)

Siegfried Lorenz, member of the SED CC Politburo and first secretary of the Karl-Marx-Stadt Bezirk leadership, attended a mayors' conference in Karl-Marx- Stadt on 30 January. (31 Jan, p 2)

Erich Mueckenberger, member of the SED CC Politburo and president of the GDR-Soviet Friendship Society, received the participants of a seminar with leading officials of the Soviet Society for Friendship With the GDR in Berlin on 28 January. (30 Jan, p 2)

Gerhard Mueller, candidate member of the SED CC Politburo and first secretary of the Erfurt Bezirk leadership, received a delegation from the Soviet Society for Friendship with the GDR in Erfurt on 27 January. (28-29 Jan, p 2) Gerhard Mueller attended a National Front bezirk conference in Erfurt on 1 February. (2 Feb, p 2)

Margarete Mueller, candidate member of the SED CC Politburo, attended a meeting of the Ducherow LPG in Neubrandenburg on 3 February. (4-5 Feb, p 2)

Alfred Neumann, first deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and member of the SED CC Politburo, attended a reception given by Jagannath Doddamani, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of India, in Berlin on 26 January. (27 Jan, p 2)

Guenter Schabowski, Politburo member and secretary of the SED CC, saw off a delegation of the Budapest MSZMP Committee, headed by First Secretary Mihaly Jasso, in Berlin on 27 January. (28-29 Jan, p 8)

Harry Tisch, member of the SED CC and chairman of the FDGB National Executive Council, attended an exhibition of the teachers' trade union in Berlin on 7 February. (8 Feb, p 2) Harry Tisch attended a conference of the teachers' trade union in Berlin on 8 February. (9 Feb, p 2)

Werner Walde, candidate member of the SED CC Politburo and first secretary of the Cottbus Bezirk leadership, inspected new and renovated apartments in Schoenwalde on 8 February. (9 Feb, p 2)

MSZMP Central Committee Session Continues

Grosz Speech Debated

LD1002211689 Budapest MTI in English 1856 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 10 (MTI)—As reported earlier, the Central Committee [CC] of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party began a session on Friday [10 February]. Karoly Grosz, HSWP general secretary, delivered a speech on topical domestic policy issues.

The debate on the speech is to continue on Saturday.

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After the first day of consulation, Emil Kimmel, deputy head of the CC office, told MTI that the Central Committee was aware that Hungarian society was going through a period of tension. Accordingly, it started the session in full awareness of its historical responsibility. During the Friday debate, almost all domestic policy issues that strongly concern the general public as well were brought to the surface. The debate was varied, sober, clarifying and aimed at creating unity.

So far, 16 contributions have been made to Mr Grosz's speech. The contributors dealt with such important stages of the development of the system of political institutions as the creation of socialist pluralism, and the transition from a one-party to the multi-party system. One important demand was for the consolidation of the political and organizational unity of the party, and the restoration of the self-confidence of party members.

A differentiated approach was made to a number of debated issues of Hungary's historical past, with special regard to those who triggered off domestic policy debates in recent days.

According to the agenda, the Central Committee is dealing with the reply to be given to the appeal of the New March Front.

Since a further nineteen contributions are expected, the session is to continue on Saturday. The Central Committee will be approving documents to be published.

Debate of Speech Resumes 11 Feb

LD1102152789 Budapest MTI in English 0853 GMT 11 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 11 (MTI)—The debate over the report of Karoly Grosz, HSWP general secretary on topical domestic policy issues continued on Saturday in Budapest at the session of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

Grosz Interviewed on Session

LD1202220189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 12 Feb 89

[Interview with Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, by Akos Mester, editor of the "168 hours" program, and Endre Aczel, chief editor of "Television Newsreel," on 11 February; place not given; individual interviewers' questions not attributed—recorded]

[Text] [Question] Perhaps the most logical thing would be to begin our conversation with a review of the Central Committee session. I think it would be even more justified to ask: What were the stakes?

[Grosz] Well, look, the stakes were high. We started a political process with the party conference [in May 1988]. In the party conference program we gave ourselves the task of evolving a system and mechanism for political pluralism. After 8 months we are now at the point where we must decide how this should look in practice. The alternatives are: Should there be pluralism under a one-party system or under a multiparty system? This is a very big question. The Central Committee decided that it sees the further development of political pluralism within a multiparty system. That was what was at stake.

[Question] Can the question be separated at this point? Does it take cognizance of it or does it support it? In other words, this is inevitable, so does it take cognizance of it or does it also support it?

[Grosz] No, it initiates it. It does not just support it, it does not just take cognizance of it. There was a lot of debate about whether we should once again risk it and launch an effort to develop the mechanism of socialist pluralism under a one-party syste. We concluded, on the basis of two large material experiences, on the basis of the pre-1956 years and the political and economic tensions of the present and past, that we can go no farther on this road. I do not think that the multiparty system in itself is a guarantee that mistakes of a similar nature will not occur in society. However, it is apparent that we Hungarians have not been able under the one-party system to develop guarantees that would prevent the recurrence of distortions arising from such subjective sources.

[Question] So, in effect you are saying that with the introduction of the multiparty system, or from its introduction, you see or expect the avoidance of mistakes arising from subjectivism, or the prevention of their repetition.

[Grosz] At least their reduction. I do not see the multiparty system itself as a guarantee of its prevention. But in the multiparty system I see a greater possibility of our committing fewer mistakes of this type and of this nature, because the parties would be more under one another's control. The natural unfolding of party struggles, the competition, if we formulate it that way, demands from every party greater performance, stricter norms—moral and political norms. It demands a new work style. As a matter of fact, we expect that the MSZMP will also be capable of a more effective performance, in the true sense of the world, in politics, in public life, in expanding its social basis. No doubt this will allow, with the creation of temporary alliances, for the involvement in the political processes of such forces which the party on its own, by itself, would not be able to mobilize.

[Question] But if that is so, then this also prompts me to say that this is not quite how it is that the party takes an initiating step. Instead, the party takes cognizance of the multiparty system as a reality, and then on this basis some kind of compromise, a kind of political compromise, can emerge. Or do I understand this incorrectly?

[Grosz] Partially incorrectly. We at the party conference, when we debated this, at that time still thought that we would try under a one-party system to evolve political pluralism. Since then 6-7 months of debates within the party has passed. The party did not debate with others; we conducted the debate within the party, and we became wiser. We concluded that we will have to initiate this. Initiatives of this type had already been heard years ago from others; there is nothing new in this. But the MSZMP, with its total political weight, initiates cooperation. I think that this is a little more.

[Question] Even more than that. We do not just say political pluralism, but also socialist pluralism, (?it is true). From this I take it that there is a certain fundamental criterion for several parties being able to exist and function legally alongside one another: namely, that they accept socialism. Let us simplify it down to this, right?

[Grosz] Yes, well, the present Constitution, too, and we are of the opinion that the debates on the new draft constitution also already indicate this. The new constitution will also have to contain the socialist system of society. Therefore, the parties will have to fulfil their political function on a socialist basis, in accordance with their own particular tasks.

[Question] Will it be possible to prescribe it for the parties, which are now beginning to appear in extremely large numbers and request legality for themselves; will it be possible to prescribe it for them that they accept socialism?

[Grosz] Look, if they do not accept the Constitution, then the parties cannot function legally. So, it is very simple.

[Question] This means that the MSZMP engages in politics from a position of power?

[Grosz] No. The MSZMP will engage in politics from a position of competition. If it is able to win the support of the majority of society, then this will mean a ruling position for the party.

[Question] In order for the party to win over the majority of society, a series of things have to be clarified. So, it is not enough in certain issues to make the MSZMP's stand public, but cognizance must also be taken of the fact that there will be debates about this, too, and it would be very undesirable if the party's stand, and the stand of public opinion, in certain cases were to diverge from one another, instead of coming closer together. Here, for example, are the debates connected with the past few decades, the stand of the historical committee, Imre Pozsgay's ominous radio statement which was heard on the "168 Hours" program. One does not need a particularly great imagination to presume that the debates in this connection continued here at the Central Committee session.

[Grosz] Naturally, and they will continue to go on. Properly speaking, we—the decisive majority of the Central Committee—take the stand—there was a vote on this issue—that it is necessary to go back to the basic evaluations, the basic interpretations that took shape after 1956, which were distorted in the past 30 years. That is, an uprising [felkeles] got under way in which very many decent and honest people who were not rebelling against the system, but who were dissatisfied with the situation that had developed, with their individual situations, sallied forth in battle, demonstrated, and then used weapons against the existing political power group, and in this process the counterrevolutionary elements strengthened with growing intensity.

Later, over the past 30 years, these counterrevolutionary elements appeared—in historical writing, in public thinking, in propaganda—to be unequivocal. We forgot the popular elements in which many honest, decent people took part, with very mixed intentions—which, in my view, were not thought through—in the development of the political structure of the time. Thus, our stand now is that here, like in so many other spheres, we should return to the basic position. We should accept the facts: the well-intentioned active participation in the events by the young people, the workers, the intellectuals, and which lumpen elements and conscious forces opposed to the system gradually wished to transform it to their benefit.

Now, we are not debating about whether it was a revolution or a counterrevolution. We are debating over how, and in what manner, it is possible to trace more precisely the process, how a counterrevolution came out of this uprising.

[Question] Forgive me if I remind you of a considerably old interview that we had. At that time, a few years ago, you were the first secretary of the Budapest party committee, and this topic already came up between us.

[Grosz] Yes.

[Question] I well remember that you said that it often depended on chance on which side of the barricade one found oneself in 1956. For it was not possible to establish precisely which was the politically correct side of the barricade. I have the impression that now, in recent times, spiritual barricades are evolving in this matter. And if you will permit a subjective remark, it seems as if these spiritual barricades existed also within the party.

[Grosz] That is natural. In my view it is a reorganization of a historic dimension that is taking place in Hungary today, and this is taking place also within the party. I said at today's Central Committee session that naturally it can be debated that the weight of what we are doing today is roughly the same as what took place in Hungary between 1945 to 1948 and between 1956 to 1960. What it is a question of is that we are working on creating a new socialist model, one which best accords with Hungarian conditions. In other words, as the fashionable phrase has it today, we would like to be completely free of the remnants of the Stalinist superstructure [felepitmeny]. I use this expression because there is a lot of this that we have demolished already, but we have not demolished it completely. But we would like to become completely free of its remnants and to create a socialist superstructure which distances itself from the Stalinist superstructure system and which goes beyond the state structure and a system of institutions of the bourgeois society.

[Question] Allow me to briefly return to 1956. I think that the listeners and viewers will hardly forgive us if we do not ask openly, and I think very briefly, whether there has been or whether there is a Poszgay affair, and if there has been, then what the Central Committee has decided to do about it?

[Grosz] There has not been a Pozsgay affair, there is not one today either, and nor will there be a Pozsgay affair. It was not Pozsgay we have been struggling against and it was not Pozsgay's statements and expressions which have caused us problems. Therefore, as to whether the 1956 events were an uprising or popular uprising, the scientific workshops will still have to labor on. It is this which we have confirmed now. By the way, there is nothing new about this, either. After all, our resolution that the party's elected bodies do not take a stand on and do not decide on scientific issues, has been in effect for 20 years.

[Question] (?Until now, however), it has been a political and not a scientific issue.

[Grosz] Naturally, this is what I would like to say, particularly now that in the science disciplines relating to history; and particularly if this period lives with us or we live in this era, then historical assessments also have a political aspect. However, as for the way that this process, this phase may be defined, the Central Committee did not take a stand. At the same time, we considered [veltuek] Comrade Pozsgay's statement hasty [elsietett], primarily because the society—and the party membership included—was not prepared for this debate. The party's members are accustomed to the terminologies evolved over the past 30 years—this is what I referred to earlier—and this statement coming from 1 minute to the next did surprise the membership. I received more than 500 letters, most of them written by collectives, and there are 11 letters that unequivocally support Imre Pozsgay's position. There are 17 private letters that also unequivocally support Imre Pozsgay's position, while (?several), on the other hand, oppose it. Thus, it is apparent that the party membership was surprised and shocked by this statement. And, as the study itself...

[Question, interrupting] I fear that not only the party membership was shocked.

[Grosz] Yes, and not only here; it elicited a large reaction internationally, as well. The study defines this process in a much more nuanced way than does this one-word adjective, and therefore, it is natural that people were surprised. It was for this reason that we decided that we should, as soon as possible, publish the basic study, and what is more, we shall even solicit opinions regarding it. It will be on the streets in a special issue of TARSADALMI SZEMLE in the middle of next week.

[Question] It can be qualified as overly hasty, if viewed from the angle of your account of what happened, but it cannot thus be qualified by any means, from the angle of the number of years that have passed since 1956, and that we still are unable to face up clearly to our past. As for that, it cannot be said that it would be too early to make this public. Viewed from the position that it very much surprised the people, and that they suddenly did not know how to handle the matter, it certainly can be qualified as being overly hasty. However, this is not the only thing that we view in this way.

[Grosz] Excuse me, but I seem to remember that there is still some debate in the historical sciences over the role of Gorgy [the general who surrendered to the Hapsburgs during the unsuccessful 1848 war for independence].

[Question] It is certain that we do not possess all the knowledge worth having. Perhaps we would have advanced further if earlier we had managed to bring about clarifying debates—clarifying debates such as, I suppose, this Central Committee session was. I conclude from your words that the Central Committee, as a body, did not withdraw its confidence from Imre Pozsgay, while in the meantime I can imagine that there are some who openly see the same thing differently, and nothing happens from this. That is now the most natural thing in the world. Yesterday—when I say yesterday, now, I am talking about the historical past—this is not how it was, and we should not forget it.

[Grosz] We should not forget it, but in daily politics it is not yesterday that we should watch, but rather today and tomorrow. In my opinion, the style will be modern and the conception will be viable, which we profess now and begin to learn. There is no topic—as I also said in my keynote speech—that we might not have the right or duty to think through again, if this is demanded by development.

There are questions with which policy does not have to deal; they are not topical. The year 1956 is topical; thus, it has to be dealt with. However, we commissioned the committee appointed last year to survey 4 decades. The year 1956 is only one event from the 4 decades; it is a very significant event, but only one event. Allow me to add, that in my opinion, within a very short time there will be greater debates in the party over the past 15 years than over 1956.

[Question] We willingly believe this; I have to say that. In addition to many other things, the problem with 1956 is that if it is the subject of historical research, then in my judgment, would it not be a catastrophe if the nation were to be divided over the hows of judging this? If it were to break into two parties, two camps—(?I am not consciously insinuating this about the party)—in 1989?

[Grosz] Look, the debate over these issues will become a lasting part of public life, and this is not a problem. This preoccupies the people. If they are interested in it, if they have an opinion about it, then they should say so; they should ask questions and should engage in debate. Why is this problem so sensitive? It is because neither the revelatory work nor our daily, public life, our political activity, have sufficient nuances. For example, many people who took up arms at the time to eliminate the counterrevolutionary signs now feel ashamed and think that they made a bad decision. Several hundreds of them gave back their membership cards. There were some who sent here, in envelopes, their decorations for their work (?results). However, it is not necessary for them to be ashamed of what they undertook at the time—that is, they proudly accept, can accept, and must accept now as well, the fight against the counterrevolution. Namely, if they had not undertaken this, a restorationist counterrevolutionary process would have been completed which would have created another power, not socialism.

[Question] Allow me to approach the same question that Endre Aczel put in a slightly different manner. Is it not necessary to fear for party unity, due to debate, if the debate is overly prolonged, on the one hand? And in connection with this, is it not necessary for the political leadership to come to some kind of unified stand sooner or later? This is because otherwise it can easily be said that the lower regions, by virtue of the matter, will be confused, and that an unstable situation will develop, if the political leadership is not unified. It already can be heard that there are such sharp debates in the higher leadership that the leaders there are rather competing with one another, and, properly speaking, the matter only gives rise to the semblance of a political debate. I do not know whether there is a drop of truth in this, but if there is, then I think that it ought to be talked about.

[Second questioner, interrupting] In truth, it is not only a matter of 1956, but rather something entirely different. [passage indistinct]

[Grosz] I could greatly embarrass those who allege that there is, here, a power (?rivalry) in the leadership; they could not prove it. The other part of the question, that there are sharp debates here, to this, I say thank God. I hope that there will never be such unity in this party as (?there was in the past). However, there is no debate between us on the basic issue: There is no debate over our wanting socialism. Neither is there debate over our wanting a socialism which functions differently, that is, which functions better. There is no debate between us in that we want to implement an economic and political reform which transcends all we have achieved to date, from which this people, or country, will live better, prosper more, and be better able to place itself in the world—a reform process with which we are able to overcome the economic and political crisis phenomena which, unfortunately, have been living here with us.

Neither is there debate among us over the necessity to open up to the world—in the economy and in politics as well. I shall not list these further. Thus, there is complete unity between us in the most important issues. However, there is no unity on many details which we have not yet—excuse me for the expression—brought to full term. Well, there will be many such things. It is necessary to become accustomed to them.

[Question] Do you not think that among better economic conditions, among the circumstances of a boom, these political debates could be carried out or overcome easier? I say this because, I think, a historical parallel has occurred in many Hungarian heads, that is, in Spain, where 5 decades ago, well, people waded in blood up to the knee and the number of the victims and the burden which this murderous civil war meant to society, I think, was a great deal larger—although I know that to measure this sort of thing does not get us anywhere—than that of Hungary in 1956. Nevertheless, one experienced that from the end of the sixties, beginning of the seventies a wise, civil consensus has formed in this country which sweeps away this, I beg your pardon, puts it aside as facts of history. People wear their medals from both sides and simply, in their civil life and in their social consciousness today it does not bother them. Then it is said, that oh, yes, they can afford to do this because in their country, this great national consensus came about in a strongly rising phase of the conditions of economic prosperity. I would like to ask your opinion about this.

[Grosz] You are perfectly right, and the Spanish example is a very good example for this. It is much easier to carry out this kind of political reorganization in the rising phase of an economy. Unfortunately, in our country, the political reform process has started when the economy, in fact, has reached its lowest level. Well, a democratization and the quick straightening-out of the economy, well this is a great mental and organizational achievement and there are not a lot of examples for this in the world. However, we have no other choice, we cannot do anything else, we simply cannot invent another method.

It is obvious that at a point, mainly the earlier experiences prove this, as the democratization process has slowed down and the political reform did not help the economy, the economic reform process has faltered. Thus, there is a particular situation in Hungary and to my mind, a situation similar to this, I dare not say that it is the same, but a situation similar to this is taking place in every socialist country. Thus, this shows that the superstructure is not mobile and flexible enough to give possibility for a more dynamic development of the fundations and the economy.

A historical perspective is also necessary, of course, for the earlier wounds to heal and in order that the conflicts of interest, the differences of views, and philosophical conflicts in politics will not become social conflicts.

[Question] Besides all this, national wisdom is also necessary.

[Grosz] A people has to (?recognize) much.

[Question] I don't know. I am coming to the conclusion that one has to be very careful, and that political and economic reforms should proceed together. If they become independent it can be very dangerous, I believe.

[Grosz] Yes, I think that the political reform is beginning to break away from the economic reform. The economic reform is unfolding [bontakozik ki] slower, in reality, and its process of realization is slower. While the political reform is primarily the reform of the system of institutions; due to the legislative activity and the political reform has turned out to be more dynamic. Of course, there is a difference between the two. But, there is a reciprocal effect. I talked earlier about this very important reciprocal effect, therefore, we must not allow for the two to become independent of each other because an anarchic situation will come about and the economy collapses.

[Question] I think, it also can be considered a part of the political reform that the press, as part of the social publicity, does not operate the same way today as it has operated a year ago. I would like to believe that you still have a good opinion of the press, just as you had a long time ago; and that you still like the press just the same way you liked radio and television. Although I am not convinced that in the meantime your position has not tilted off keel a little bit. I cannot imagine that this—and I put it in quotes—this kind of press pluralism, which characterizes the situation in our country now, always appeals to you. But I would like to confront this, that is why I ask you.

[Grosz] I continue to like radio and television. That is the first point. The second point is that I feel more and more quarrelsome with the press, first and foremost with the printed press, with the Hungarian radio, and at times also with the television. I feel that earlier the problem was that the television, the press, and radio, did not get enough freedom to reflect the processes taking place in society, to draw attention to contradictions, to deal with values according to their rank. This is a major fault of press direction. Now, however, I see that they not only avail themselves of the possibility, but at times one or another staff members of the Hungarian press also abuses the possibility created by this political concept.

I have to say that earlier I was on the side of those who struggled for the greater freedom of the press. This was partly by virtue of my office because I was leading the agitation-propaganda department in this party center, and I worked in the trade for a long time. But this was also from principled conviction. When possible, I defended the press from unjust criticisms. I remember at that time there was very great sensitivity. Now, however, I stand on the other side. I ask the colleagues, those who work in the press, that they examine the processes, symptoms, phenomena, taking place in society, with greater self-discipline and self-moderation. There is a tendency for sensation-seeking. There is a tendency to draw general conclusions from partial phenomena. I do not think, for example, that in the past 42 years only mistakes occured. I do not think that a party is dishonorable just because one of its officials is not moral and dishonest. Yet, we are amply provided with information in this regard which diverts our attention from the positive, real processes.

It is not I who am sensitive; this does not offend me, first and foremost, and really and truly. But we find that it harms the worker, the peasant, and the intellectual who work conscientiously, who mind their own business, who are not vociferous, who do not shout; who do not appear here, there, and everywhere; who do not have great world-shattering thoughts. In other words, it is not vis-a-vis the political leadership that the press should have more...

[Question, interrupting] Loyalty.

[Grosz] ...loyalty, but rather it is vis-a-vis the working people and the real facts that it should show greater loyalty. That is my position. I know that then...

[Question, interrupting] [Words indistinct] ...a typical case. For it is my opinion that it is terribly difficult to make general judgments about the press. I have to say that criticisms are leveled at the press, and these criticisms are extremely numerous. If you do not mind, I would also say that a functionary, no matter at what level he may be, is virtually assured of getting good marks before the audience if he takes a swipe at the press. At least, that is my experience. I find this thing quite strange and mysterious, because in my view it is very difficult to speak about the press in general. As far as politics are concerned, we would be much happier if there were concrete criticisms of concrete cases. This is because in these summarizing opinions and, naturally, as party general secretary, you are only able to give a summarizing opinion. Many others, however, do not give summarizing opinions, but rather summarizing judgments about the press, and with considerable frequency.

[Second questioner] To say nothing of the fact that the press does not consist of individual genres; in other words, it consists of journalism, of journalists' opinions. Consequently, if it is true that, from time to time, it happens that the press writes one thing today and tomorrow it writes the opposite, then sometimes it also happens because statements appear in the press. It is not the journalist who has changed his opinion, but rather the one who made the statement. Such things also occur.

[Grosz] Yes. I do not dispute it. Such things also occur. But let me say this: I do not need good marks anymore. Therefore, I do not grumble, and I do not formulate my opinion, because that is how I want to gain popularity. But because, according to my belief and my convictions, I have very great responsibility in these very sensitive organs, in the press...

[Question, interrupting] You are absolutely right.

[Grosz] I have very great responsibility. I would not like it if relations deteriorated so far that we would then return to a state against which we all fought earlier. Therefore, I would not like it if this were to lead to our narrowing the press's freedom of movement with such or such tools. This can not be in our interest. Therefore, a political force has to work not in opposition to the press, but rather together with the staff members of the press, in the interest of society.

[Question] I think we will say thank you for the interview, and I on behalf of the radio station.

[Second questioner] And I on behalf of television. Thank you very much.

[Grosz] I also thank you for our conversation.

Emil Kimmel Examines Debate

LD1102184389 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 11 Feb 89

[Interview with Emil Kimmel, deputy chief of the Office of the MSZMP Central Committee, by correspondent Attila Balint on 11 February; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Balint] We knew that the party Central Committee was going to continue its work with 19 contributions. Have more people asked to speak in the debate?

[Kimmel] It is expected that 25 contributions will be made today, but already more people have indicated to the chair that they, too, would like to participate in the debate. It seems that by late afternoon, when the Central Committee session is expected to end, that half of the committee will have spoken in the debate.

[Balint] Please summarize the focal points of the debate to date, or rather this morning—for we are speaking to each other shortly before noon.

[Kimmel] It is very difficult to sum up in total the debate, so I would rather single out some ideas. It is formulating the way of resurgence within the party, the need for creating unity which stands, in the center of which must be constructed a new political situation on the basis of new political tasks. It must not be founded on the previous monolithic concept. It is for this reason that platforms have a specially singled-out significance, and so has the fact that the party's bodies, the party itself, do not want to force anyone to change his opinion through resolutions.

[Balint] Was the question of platform freedom opposed by several speakers?

[Kimmel] It was a theme in several contributions, taking into account that this will soon be submitted to a wide-ranging party debate.

[Balint] The issue of the past is one question which is most interesting to or preoccupying many people.

[Kimmel] Yes, the question of the past was raised in almost every contribution but expressedly with fear for the future, anxiety about it, in the interest of a will for action. Therefore, it was formulated that in some fundamental issues it is necessary to shape a unified attitude to define a short program, an action program that can represent everybody, in the final preparation of which the party membership also must be involved, and which may serve as a basis for subsequent political work.

The description of the issues relating to our past was present in almost all contributions. They dealt with the issues of our past, our immediate past with an extraordinarily differentiated approach, with the multifaceted uncovering of interrelations. Almost all agreed that historical qualifications should not, and must not in the future, either, be characterized by one single word or expression.

[Balint] What is being discussed more: the past, the present, or the future?

[Kimmel] More words are expended about the present and how to move toward the future. And all the speakers have lined up behind the most important ideas formulated by the general secretary's speech, which provides a program and gives direction.

[Balint] What are these ideas? The public is not yet familiar with the speech.

[Kimmel] The public will become familiar with it. The speech will be published according to proposals. I would single out one point that stressed that there can be order without reform, but there cannot be reform without order. Taking this line further, one of the contributors said that there was a need for a reform order.

Gyula Horn on 1956 Events Debate

LD1102190889 Budapest MTI in English
1551 GMT 11 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 11 (MTI)—Gyula Horn, member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee and state secretary of the Foreign Ministry, discussed the Friday conference of the HSWP Central Committee session, in an interview of Hungarian television on Friday evening. As reported, the session is continuing today, Saturday. Mr Horn said, among others:

"...What I hold as particularly important is that General Secretary Karoly Grosz made an extremely balanced, circumspect report, a position also in the affair of the Hungarian events in 1956, and in the issue of the multi-party system, and how the party should progress, what it should do. The other important point is that the debate was expressly principled, it was not weighed down by personal insults or others, but contributions were made to the theme. Naturally, the evaluation of the Hungarian events in 1956 received major scope in the debate so far. I am a member of the historical subcommittee which has dealt with this work so far... We stressed that this work is not finished yet, with respect to the evaluation of the events in 1956. For instance, we are currently examining the magnitude of the 1956 Hungarian affair, and the international determination in the period that followed, in other words, the great international pressures that the Hungarian leadership had to operate and work under, which considerably influenced the eventual political guideline. It has unanimously been proven that this started as an uprising, basically with the participation of the masses, but one can argue with whether it should be called popular uprising or uprising. Later on, the events led into a counter-revolution. The session heard arguments as, for instance, that the Yugoslav side, which supported the Hungarian events on October 23, used the formulation by November 1 that there is a counter-revolutionary threat in Hungary, even that it was a Horthyist restoration effort... Thus the events should be examined in their own complex nature and according to their historical justice", Mr Horn said, among others, on Hungarian television.

Official on 'Pozsgay Affair'

LD1202000189 Budapest Television Service
in Hungarian 2220 GMT 11 Feb 89

[Interview with Endre Aczel, chief editor of "Television Newsreel," with unidentified announcer, on 11 February; place not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] After a 2-day debate the MSZMP Central Committee has concluded its extraordinary session. [passage omitted] I would like to ask, if I may, whether it is true that the MSZMP has taken a stand on the side of a multiparty system, and that Karoly Grosz said that the one-party system had not been a successful experiment?

[Aczel] As far as I know, that is correct. Therefore, the MSZMP accepts, takes cognizance of, and supports a transition to a multiparty system.

[Announcer] When will this be realized?

[Aczel] I do not think that the dates are relevant. As a matter of fact, I know nothing about that anyway. But in 1990 there will be elections in Hungary.

[Announcer] What is the situation concerning the Pozsgay affair? As far as people know, the Central Committee's extraordinary session was convened because Imre Pozsgay, when summing up the report of the historical examination committee, qualified, as a popular uprising...

[Aczel, interrupting] As for the report itself, I can say that this word naturally is in it. However, I have to answer the question. The reply is that there is no Pozsgay affair. What I know about this is that several members of the Central Committee—and I think that this opinion is not alien to the entire body, either—considered the radio statement, in which the one-word summary opinion was voiced, to be overly hasty. It was hasty because the members of the Central Committee did not have any way with which to get acquainted with it, or to prepare the party membership for what really can be described as change. To date, we have not spoken about a popular uprising nor about the path that led from the popular uprising to a counterrevolution, or to counterrevolutionary phenomena.

Thus, I think that one of the members of the Politburo gave rise to a shock-like situation.

[Announcer] If you will allow me, it is a change in that it is not qualified by one word; to date, the party has qualified it with one word: counterrevolution.

[Aczel] That is really so. However, I have another comment to the question, one that I think is very important—the reply to why there is no Pozsgay affair. There is none because the Central Committee assured Imre Pozsgay, member of the Politburo and minister of state, of its confidence.

[Announcer] Allow me to ask: Is the report by the French news agency AFP true, to the effect that Janos Kadar did not attend the meeting?

[Aczel] Janos Kadar did not take part in this 2-day session for reasons of health. And I think that we owe it to the viewers to say that the atmosphere of this session was not as exciting as, let us say, it could have, or it ought to have been expected. In the White House I heard adjectives to the effect that it was a debate of a sober and constructive character, with an emphasis on sobriety. Now, I might add to this that I had the chance to hear some contributions. And really, it is necessary to suppose that first, perhaps there never were so many contributions at a Central Committee session, let us say, with regard to the gravity of the affair, with regard to its importance. I shall touch on this again. Second, the Central Committee members probably had not managed to become acquainted so thoroughly with one another's views on such crucial issues, such as a multiparty system and 1956. Thus, in this sense, it is possible to talk about debate or clarifying debate, where naturally numerous views were voiced which were greatly opposed to one another or which were diametrically opposed. At the same time, insofar as I can refer to Central Committee members, I can say that there is no unity without clarifying debates. Unity does not come about without clarifying debates. [passage omitted]

Central Committee Session Concludes

LD1102220589 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 11 Feb 89

[Excerpt] The extraordinary session of the MSZMP Central Committee has ended. We have not yet received a communique on the session that ended at about 2000 after 2 days of debate, but we have been told by an authoritative source that there were no dramatic reversals. [passage omitted]

'Text' of MSZMP Communique

LD1202194789 Budapest MTI in English 1848 GMT 12 Feb 89

["Communique on the HSWP Central Committee Session (full text)"—MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, February 12 (MTI)—The Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party held an extended session on February 10 and 11, which, alongside the members, was attended by—with conference rights—the president and secretary of the Central Control Committee, the first secretaries of the county and county-right party committees, the secretaries of the Budapest party committee, the heads of departments of the Central Committee, and the president of the National Assembly.

In accordance with its resolution of December 15, 1988, the Central Committee discussed current political issues, in the presentation of General Secretary Karoly Grosz. The debate over the report was addressed by 47 members, 7 views were submitted in writing. The Central Committee approved a draft position, which it will put to debate.

I.

The Central Committee holds it a pressing task for the HSWP to take an initiating role to overcome the economic-political and moral crisis.

The fundamental condition of renewal is to create an economic system in mixed ownership which enforces the regularities of economy, the demands of modern world economy, which is performance oriented and which upholds the determining role of the common, and state property in the main branches. The consistent development of the market relations is indispensable in this interest.

The unavoidable detrimental side-effects of economic restructuring and stabilization have to be accepted. Similar processes to date have not led to results anywhere without temporary tensions, at times without serious sacrifices.

At the same time, the Central Committee holds it indispensable for economic restructuring to be accompanied by the comprehensive reform of social-welfare policy. The new social-welfare policy should take into consideration the principles of social justice, communal solidarity and self-assistance. It should do everything possible to moderate the differences in chances. It should turn particular attention to the situation of young people, and to creating the security of the strata living amist difficult circumstances.

In the interest of the extensive advancement of democracy, starting from the principle of people's sovereignty and constitutional statehood, it is the firm intention of the Central Committee that the profound reform of the system of political institutions should continue. Its conviction is that pluralization of the political system—in the given domestic situation—can be realized in the frameworks of the multi-party system. On the basis of historical experience, this can create a better guarantee to control governmental work, and against the possibility of abusing power.

As society is not prepared for the immediate realization of political power based on the multi-party system, there is an existing danger of the destabilization of the processes, of their becoming uncontrollable. This is not in the interest of any single force that feels responsibility for the country. Therefore, a gradual, continuous transition is necessary amidst the calculable frameworks of political transformation.

The forced acceleration of changes, or the prevention of these with artificial means are alike dangerous. The falling apart of society can be prevented only with the reciprocal responsibility and moderation of all political factors.

Many illusions are attached to the multi-party system, mainly with respect to the solution of economic and social problems. It is of fundamental importance that political reform cannot be a substitute for, but should also not prevent, the solution of economic tasks, the related necessary powerful governmental and company work. Political transformation should be accompanied by the comprehensive reform of economy, so that their favourable effects intensify.

In the interest of realizing all these goals and tasks, the Central Committee is ready for agreement and cooperation with all responsible political factors. The party strives for a determining role in this process, and wishes to enforce this with political means. It carries out a sharp political fight against all those who aim at destabilizing the country, at endangering its international interests, at preventing the undisturbed nature of peaceful transformation, at disrupting the calmness of society.

Aware of its historical responsibility, the Central Committee declares and accepts that this transformation can be realized only with gradualness and in the order that accords to our social conditions, as a result of balanced and consistent progress. Its conviction is that this accords to the interests of the Hungarian people. There is no value-creating work without order and calm, without which the country cannot make progress.

In the spirit of the guidelines approved at the party conference in May, 1988, and according to the work style created there, the Central Committee requests the party organs, the party basic organizations, the party membership, to discuss its draft position to be made public.

The party membership, also through the proposed debate, should prepare for the tasks facing us. We can act in the knowledge that we are participants in the realization of a historical task. We promote the prosperity of our people and, at the same time, international progress by creating the new domestic model of democratic socialism. The sincere facing of our past, our historical results, and the thorough analysis of our illusions and errors also serve this.

II.

The Central Committee was familiarized with the study made on the examination of the historical road of the past decades by the committee it delegated. On the whole, it acknowledged with recognition that the study, already in its current form, for the most part provides a diverse review of scientific nature of our recent past.

The Central Committee approves that the study should be put to debate, and stresses the importance of further thorough fact-finding and research work. As a part of this work, it holds it necessary to evaluate the national tragedy of 1956 based on further facts and international documents, in a way that reflects the complex contradictions, and in a more diverse manner than to date.

In the debate, the Central Committee reconfirmed: The incapability for renewal of the leadership led to the political explosion of 1956. A genuine uprising, popular uprising broke out, in which the forces of democratic socialism played a role, but in which the forces striving for restoration, the declasse and lumpen elements were present from the beginning in an inseparable manner, and the counter-revolutionary actions intensified from the end of October.

The body holds it premature that Imre Pozsgay made public the hitherto result of the historical sub-committee prior to the debate of the Central Committee. It holds it unfortunate that the simplification made in connection with his statement gave rise to misunderstandings. At the same time, the Central Committee ensured Comrade Imre Pozsgay of its confidence.

Over the past days, many letters arrived to the Central Committee, the views of many collectives and individuals. These reflected passionate debates and contain many views and observations worthy of examination and utilization. The Central Committee received these with thanks, and requests the historical sub-committee to consider and utilize the counts of these.

The body invariably demands that the work committee set up at its session on June 23, 1988—the task of which is the comprehensive scientific and political analysis of the development of society and economy over three decades and the re-examination of the programme declaration of the party—carry out an accelerated-paced, but circumspect and thorough work. It is necessary for the Central Committee to be familizarized with the studies of other sub-committees, and that these also receive publicity.

The Central Committee has commissioned the Political Committee to prepare an action programme under the title 'What Does the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Want?', which the body will discuss at its March session.

The Central Committee has set up a committee, led by the general secretary, with the task of reviewing the work style and work method of the Central Committee and the Political Committee, and to submit a report on its experiences. The Central Committee has commissioned a work group to prepare bi- and multilateral negotiations with various political, social organizations.

At the conference, many proposals were heard in the themes discussed, and the body will return to these in its next sessions. The Central Committee will make public the speech of Karoly Grosz, the draft of its position submitted to party debate, and its answer given to the appeal of the New March Front. The party basic organization report bulletin of the Central Committee will set forth the debate of the Central Committee.

Grosz Attends Szekesfehervar Party Session

LD0402214389 Budapest MTI in English
1917 GMT 4 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 4 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, attended the special party conference of the basic organizations of the Szekesfehervar District Party Committee on Saturday [4 February], which met in conference representing some 1,300 Communists of 18 basic organizations. Several speakers set forth their views on the issues that most interest the party membership at present, on the events of the past weeks and months.

The public session of the Veszprem County party committee on Saturday approved, with unanimous vote, a proposal: It requests the HSWP Central Committee to summon a special national party conference or congress prior to the election of National Assembly deputies and council members.

Both the report and the contributors to it stressed that the processes that have effects in society are increasingly weighing on the party organizations. Advance is made more difficult by the fact that the party membership does not see clearly enough the programme-value intention of the May party conference.

Several speakers stressed that the party should better reckon with the workers who are begining to be forced into the background in political life. Several contributors remarked on the contradictory statements by officials of the leading party bodies, noting these disturb the work of the basic organizations.

Kabul Embassy Activities 'Temporarily' Suspended

*LD1002182789 Budapest MTI in English
1705 GMT 10 Feb 89*

[Text] Kabul, February 10 (MTI)—Hungary has temporarily suspended the operation of its embassy in Kabul, deputy foreign minister, Gabor Nagy, announced on Friday [10 February]. He added that the related decision had only been reached out of security considerations.

Most members of the small Hungarian colony have already left the Afghan capital. Only the ambassador, one of his associates, and the commercial counsellor remained on the spot, and now these three are to leave Kabul on Saturday. Two of them will return to Hungary, while the ambassador will remain in the region—in New Delhi—to follow the events in Afghanistan with attention. When the Hungarian ambassador returns to his post will all depend on the internal situation in Afghanistan.

Left-Wing 'Alternative Association' Founded

*LD1102212889 Budapest MTI in English
1932 GMT 11 Feb 89*

[Text] Budapest, February 11 (MTI)—The leftwing Alternative Association (BAL) social organization was founded on Saturday [11 February] in Budapest.

In the spirit of the approved founding letter, the organization wishes to operate in a democratic manner, with a movement nature. It is to take a stand against economic, political and cultural monopolies and prerogatives, and will participate in creating a society based on the equality of chances, in realizing democratic socialism built from the organization of persons who conceive the future of Hungarian society not in the variations of neo-Stalinism, or new conservativism of bourgeis nature. The central element of their intellectual precedents is the critical society principle of Marxist origin, which proves the possibility and historical superiority of the grass-roots social self-government. Participants also set down in the founding letter that the society organization that rests on Stalinist bases and carried out in the past decades in central Europe, and in Hungary, cannot be justified with Marxism, it is contrary to it.

Petition Demands Referendum on Nagymaros Plant

*AU1302090489 Vienna Domestic Service in German
0600 GMT 13 Feb 89*

[Text] Over 110,000 Hungarians have signed a petition calling for a referendum on the Nagymaros power plant on the Danube. The opponents of the power plant fear the contamination of drinking water and the destruction of the meadows along the Danube due to the plant's construction.

First Issue of New Daily MAI NAP Appears 8 Feb

*LD0802214389 Budapest MTI in English
1926 GMT 8 Feb 89*

[Text] Budapest, February 8 (MTI)—Wednesday [8 February] saw the appearance in Budapest of the first issue of "MAI NAP" (TODAY), a new Hungarian daily. 80,000 copies of this independent, 24-page, illustrated newspaper will come out each day at 11 a.m.. The paper is being published by Reform, the newspaper and book publishers.

Editor-in-chief Istvan Horvath said that Reform had planned to launch the paper in the second week of January, but Linotype, an American firm, had been one month late in delivering the printing equipment. Reform is to institute proceedings against the US firm because of loss of profits.

"MAI NAP" is the sixth political daily to enjoy distribution throughout Hungary.

Rakowski Says Warsaw Backs Political Pluralism

AU1002161189 Paris AFP in English
1522 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Text] Paris, Feb 10 (AFP)—The Polish Communist Party has accepted the idea of giving up its "monopoly on power", Polish Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski said in a newspaper interview published here Friday. But he declined to say when real political pluralism might be introduced in Poland.

The Polish United Workers' Party has "renounced the monopoly on power" and "has adopted—or is adopting—the principle of competition with other political forces", Mr. Rakowski told LE MONDE newspaper. But "it is impossible to imagine the time-frame" for putting pluralism into effect, he said, adding "it's a historical process which is developing independent of our will".

Earlier in the day, a fifth day of talks between the government and opposition on political reform opened in Warsaw.

"We already have a three-party system," Mr. Rakowski said, referring to the United Peasants' Party and Democratic Party.

"The two smaller parties were, without any doubt, satellite parties, but they no longer are. We have entered a period of transition" in the communist party's "relations with the other two parties".

The Communist Party, he stressed, had changed direction "without any outside interference, with the total trust of (Soviet leader Mikhail) Gorbachev".

Of the round-table talks under way in Warsaw, Mr. Rakowski said he had "the feeling" the leadership and opposition "have already reached an understanding". But he said he was "still against legalizing (the banned trade union) Solidarity and for the creation of a new Solidarity union which will break with its past".

The prime minister is due in Paris next week on a three-day visit.

Roundtable Legal Reforms Team Begins Meeting

Balcer, Strzembosz Chair Debates

LD1102210189 Warsaw PAP in English
1705 GMT 11 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 11—The 22-strong subteam for reforms of the law and courts inaugurated its work here today with Lukasz Balcer and Adam Strzembosz co-chairing the debates.

Balcer said that the significant changes that took place in the recent years in the field of law and administration of justice were aiming at consolidating and extending civic liberties and freedom. This has been manifested by the establishing of the Main Administrative Court (NSA), the constitutional tribunal, the tribunal of state, and setting up the institution of ombudsman. He also stressed that they were partial changes and that other ones were expected.

Balcer stressed that it would be very important to examine how to introduce in Poland the principles of the three-way division of authority and links between judicature and the president, if such a post was set up in future. Another key problem concerns the independence of the administration of justice, as for instance, the place of the Supreme Court and problems concerning judges' self-management. It includes also the remuneration of judges. Balcer suggested that the scope of cases examined by courts should be broadened. In two or three coming months the government will submit to the Sejm a draft law concerning the inclusion of economic courts in courts of common law, said he.

Advanced is work in the field of administrative courts aimed at creating possibilities to appeal against any administrative decision—with only few exceptions. As far as penal law is concerned there are plans according to which only courts, and not misdemeanour courts, can sentence to imprisonment. Other issues concern the organization of the administration of justice and penitentiary questions, Balcer said.

Balcer suggested that participants in the meeting should get acquainted with the ministry documents including the assumptions of the penal law reform. The assumptions of the civil law reform are under interministry discussion. He said that other items might be added to the list of subjects he presented.

Adam Strzembosz said that the law must serve the common good. It must be our goal so that the law should have a value of internal justness and be not an instrument designed to force the citizens to behave in a way desired by organs of the authority. If we are aiming at public peace one should eliminate from the law all factors that are bringing it closer to the law of the state of emergency, and on the other hand, to subordinate in such a way all legal institutions so that it can be said they are subordinate to the law.

While referring to the assumptions of the penal law reform which are clearly going in the direction of social expectations, Strzembosz expressed concern over the composition of the commission for reform of the penal law as it was dominated by state officials and thus he expressed fear that the body approved of the inclusion in the legislation of some solutions which were generally criticized and which were included in the law of May 10, 1985.

Strzembosz expressed satisfaction with statements that testify to a plan to reform the penal and administrative judicial decisions. He pointed to the urgent need to adjust judicial decisions of misdemeanour courts to requirements of political rights covenants and said that some acts of misdemeanour could be examined by a borough court or similar ones.

Strzembosz spoke also about the need to remove such regulations from the penal code and the misdemeanour code which were reprisals for behaviour connected with human natural laws. In conclusion, he expressed satisfaction at the possibility to get acquainted with documents of the government side on the basis of which it would be possible to make a detailed stand on numerous significant issues concerning the reform of the law and courts.

The debate was attended by Tadeusz Mazowiecki, co-chairman of the team for trade union pluralism.

The subteam for reforms of the law and courts includes also: Kazimierz Buchala, Zbigniew Bujak, Jerzy Ciemniewski, Lucjan Czubinski, Ryszard Grodzicki, Zenon Jankowski, Marcin Jelowiecki, Jaroslaw Kaczynski, Andrzej Milczanowski, Jan Olszewski, Emilia Pogonowska-Jucha, Zbigniew Romaszewski, Jadwiga Skorzewska, Hipolit Starszak, Jerzy Swiatkiewicz, Jacek Taylor, Janusz Trzcinski, Zofia Wasilkowska, Janina Zakrzewska, Tadeusz Zielinski.

Solidarity 'Disappointed'

AU1102205789 Paris AFP in English
2044 GMT 11 Feb 89

[Excerpt] Warsaw, Feb 11 (AFP)—Officials of the banned trade union Solidarity expressed "deep disappointment" over talks with the government on legal reforms Saturday as more workers joined strikes in southern Poland.

"We are very disappointed", Piotr Konopka, a close adviser to Solidarity chief Lech Walesa, told a news conference after a day of talks on changing the country's laws and judicial system.

It was the first time since roundtable talks between the government and opposition opened Monday that Solidarity—whose members comprise most of the opposition delegation—openly expressed disappointment after one of the daily sessions. The talks, covering a variety of topics, are due to run for six weeks.

At Saturday's talks, the opposition called for a totally independent judicial organization to be set up and given power to appoint judges, now chosen by the government.

But government delegates, according to Mr. Konopka, said the task was "immense" and that it would take a very long time—"too long", he commented—to ensure that courts and judges were independent.

"Without this independence, which is essential if respect for human rights is to be guaranteed, Poland will never be a civilized country", the Solidarity official said.

At the talks, opposition delegates called for police courts to be abolished outright. These courts, which can hand down prison sentences of up to three months and heavy fines, often try demonstrators.

The opposition sought to trim some of the Interior Ministry's powers, which they said "violate human rights", including preventive detention, the power to order searches without warrant, and abusive bugging of telephones, as in a case where national television a few years ago broadcast a conversation police recorded between two well-known dissidents.

The delegates called for the "complete rehabilitation" of people who received jail terms under martial law and have since been released.

During the week, Lech Walesa repeatedly urged workers not to strike, saying they should give the roundtable talks a chance. [passage omitted]

Co-Chairmen View Meeting

LD1102210689 Warsaw PAP in English
1906 GMT 11 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 11—Co-chairmen of the sub-team for the reform of law and courts Lukasz Balcer and Adam Strzembosz shared their reflections after the sub-team session with journalists.

Lukasz Balcer: The debate's main goal today was presenting by all participants a broad scope of matters which we are going to discuss in this sub-team. The debates voiced their views and strived to specify the scope of the notion of "reform of law". It seems that we are approaching the formulation of certain views and I think that the first motion we will forward will be to discuss during the next, substantial session the problematique of independence of judges and courts, human rights and the organizational structure of legal system.

Adam Strzembosz: I have to say that the convergence of the problematique with certain general directions is big. As soon as we started talking about certain details, the answers on the part of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and General Prosecutor's Office contained implied meanings in which we see a certain field for misunderstandings, not to say—conflicts. I think that we will try to close the debate with such decisions which will be perceptible by each citizen. These will be concrete and quickly enacted amendments to the binding law, particularly to that which is called repressive law.

Asked whether in this difficult basket of topics one can expect agreements satisfing Poles they said: Strzembosz—"one has to believe so," Balcer—"we will strive at it."

Team for Political Reform Begins First Session

Reykowski, Geremek Chair Meeting

LD1002225789 Warsaw PAP in English
1837 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 10—The 36-strong team for political reforms, set up during the inaugural session of the roundtable debates, met here today with Janusz Reykowski and Bronislaw Geremek in the chair.

The course of the session was characterized by Jerzy Urban who said in part:

Janusz Reykoswki was first to take the floor. He stated that one can clearly determine the direction of changes in the political system. The point is to abandon the monocentric system and create conditions for development of a self-organizing citizens' society.

When one deals with the issue of proceeding from monocentric forms to pluralistic citizens' society, the starting point is the role of the party in exercising power, he said.

The party, in its historically-shaped forms, along with its allied parties, constitutes the main stabilizer of the political order, the main safeguard of the systemic identity. However, this does not entail that it should be a superoffice of sorts, the only sovereign or the only subject of political life, Reykowski stated.

Its role and principles of exerting an influence on political life require legal settlement. Frames for such a settlement should be created in the course of work on a new constitution. In this context we can see the necessity of passing a law on parties in Poland, he continued.

Reykowski also focused on free elections. What I have in mind here is the formation of a new parliament in which the PUWP would not be in the majority and in which a considerable number of representatives of opposition groups would have their seats, he added and proposed to form a special working group within the team whose task would be to discuss a new electoral law.

We suggest that the institution of president fulfil the function of a safeguard of the systemic order, Reykowski stated.

Among the most urgent steps on the road of reforms listed by Reykowski were restructuring of parliament and including representatives of opposition streams in it as well as taking other decisions, for instance, on the principles of access to mass media, the institution of president and the like.

Basing on decisions to be reached, we should formulate the principles of a social accord of a kind which should include obligations as to further activities for reforms. Further debates on reforms to ensue from this accord might be held under the auspices of a new institution, to be set up by sides at the roundtable and to be called a national agreement council or a coordinating commission or committee or in some other way. New rules of political game in our country might be shaped at the forum of this council, Reykowski said.

Bronislaw Geremek started his opening speech with a general reflection on the team's debates. According to him the current talks on political reforms are possible owing to the waves of strikes which were organized all over Poland last year and to the workers' postulate on the return of Soldiarity to the scene of public life, expressed in the slogan: "There is no freedom without Solidarity."

The thing is that Solidarity's return to public scene not create conflicting set-ups. This does not mean only a moralizing discourse on Solidarity but also the necessity of adjusting the state to the needs of the new situation. It is only then that a non-conflicting situation can exist.

Geremek stated that the starting point for changes is legalization of Solidarity. And this stems neither from a group interest nor from a particular egoism. This stems from the analysis of the situation in the country, not only the real one but also the psychological one. One of the basic features of the current situation is the crisis of confidence. This is a mutual crisis of confidence. To overcome this crisis one should build mutual guarantees. The legalization of Solidarity is such a guarantee, he said.

Geremek spoke about two time horizons concerning the introduction of changes in the sphere of political reforms: the immediate one and the final one. He named four questions within the first one: independence of courts as a guarantee of citizen's life and a mechanism of constructing social peace, the breaking of the monopoly in the sphere of social communication, the freedom of associations and clubs and the reconstruction of the territorial self-government. The final goal should be a fully democratic country that co-exists with its close and distant neighbours in friendship, that is ruled according to the nation's will expressed in democratic elections: in the model of political pluralism thus the full political freedom. We are aware, he stressed, that such a fundamental and far-going reconstruction should be carried out on the road of evolution, by steps, and should not create threats.

The meeting agreed that the next session of the team will be held Feb 18.

Affiliations of Third Team Noted

LD1002155989 Warsaw PAP in English
1526 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 10—The roundtable team for political reforms, the third team appointed during the inaugural meeting on Feb 6, started debates here today under the chairmanship of Bronislaw Geremek and Janusz Reykowski.

Following are the names of the 36-member team:
Jan Baszkiewicz—PUWP
Piotr Baumgart—non-registered Solidarity of private farmers
Ryszard Bender—Sejm deputy, Catholic group
Jan Bluszkowski—PUWP
Artur Bodnar—professor, political scientist, PUWP
Zbigniew Bujak—non-registered Solidarity
Kazimierz Cypryniak—PUWP CC secretary
Zbigniew Czajkowski—Pax Catholic Association
Andrzej Gdula—PUWP
Stanislaw Gebethner—professor, independent group
Bronislaw Geremek—co-chairman, non-registered Solidarity
Mariusz Gulczynski—professor, political scientist, PUWP
Aleksander Hall—non-registered Solidarity
Jan Jachymek—United Peasant Party (ZSL)
Jaroslaw Kaczynski—non-registered Solidarity
Krzysztof Kozlowski—independent Catholic group
Marcin Krol—Independent group, editor-in-chief of the RES PUBLICA monthly
Bogdan Krolewski—ZSL
Hieronim Kubiak—professor, PUWP
Jacek Kuron—non-registered Solidarity
Bogdan Lis—non-registered Solidarity
Adam Michnik—non-registered Solidarity
Rajmund Moric—All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ)
Kazimierz Orzechowski—Christian Social Union
Ryszard Reiff—Independent Group
Jan Rychlewski—scientist, government side
Janusz Reykowski—co-chairman, professor, PUWP CC Political Bureau member
Antoni Stawikowski—non-registered Solidarity
Adam Strzembosz—professor, Independent Group
Jerzy Uzieblo—OPZZ
Jerzy J. Wiatr—professor, PUWP
Piotr Winczorek—Democratic Party (SD)
Jan Zaciura—non-registered Solidarity
Janina Zakrzewska—non-registered Solidarity
Sylwester Zawadzki—professor, PUWP

Geremek on Solidarity Position

LD1002185389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1305 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Excerpt] In a break during the deliberations of the roundtable team for political reforms our reporters talked to participants.

[Begin recording] [Passage omitted] [Correspondent] Assistant Professor Bronislaw Geremek is cochairman of today's deliberations of the political reform team. Assistant professor, I would like to ask you to recount the most important points of your speech today.

[Geremek] Well, Solidarity and persons associated with the citizens' committee around Solidarity are putting forward the following thesis: the most important thing at the moment is, ladies and gentlemen, the dynamic of democratization, how to return the state to the nation. Such a process should be gradual, evolutionary. It should not create basic threats to the national interest. It should commence with certain fundamental matters which can be fulfilled even today. First, the restoration of the independence of the courts. Second, the breaking of the party monopoly over the mass media. Third, the creation now of freedom for associations and social and political clubs. And finally, fourth, democratization starting from the very base, that is the democratization of territorial self-government. That is our program with which we come. We think that this program does not threaten anybody.

[Correspondent] And on which of the four points that you have just enumerated is there the possibility of the greatest agreement?

[Geremek] Considering Professor Reykowski's speech, I think it would be the matter of territorial self-government. There comes to my lips however a certain critical remark: A few months ago we had elections to people's councils. It is clear how they were carried through and that this chance was completely wasted. But at the moment if it is a matter of the will of both sides, I would say that the possibilities are greatest in this matter.

[Correspondent] Do you see the possibility of success for the deliberations of the political reforms team?

[Geremek] If I did not see a chance of success then I would not enter into these deliberations. I feel that it is necessary to look with realism. I am not an optimist. I think that these are very difficult deliberations and that the chance of achieving agreement is not great and is limited. It exists and that is the most important thing. In Polish situations most often something had to be built on precisely on a faint, narrow chance, and thus it was. Let's hope it succeeds this time. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Participants Comment on Session

LD1002231789 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1505 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Text] [Presenter] During a break in the debate of the roundtable team for political reform, our reporters interviewed Hieronim Kubiak, Jacek Kuron and Rajmund Moric.

[Begin Recording] [Correspondent] Professor Kubiak [representing PZPR], what kind of political reforms in our country are the participants in the team's debate talking about?

[Kubiak] First and foremost, they are talking about those reforms that reflect the majority of society. They are not talking in a unanimous way, but in a way that reflects the natural differences between individual groups of interests, of regions and that could at the same time, by revealing these differences, create what is common to all of us and what we all need. This translates into a series of very specific actions, including pluralizing political life, although this is often wrongly understood as the creation of pluralism by creating organizations. Thus, here we have the appearance of another strand, which I understand absolutely and which I am in favor of: That is to say, the creation of organizations, the creation of clubs and societies and maybe even parties where they express differences which really do exist; not where differences are created (?by) the organization, but where organizations are inevitable, for a specific group of people to feel at home, for it to know that it has equal rights in this Polish home.

[Correspondent] Is there talk only about the Sejm, or also about political parties, about trade unions; about a different role for those organizations?

[Kubiak] If I were to mention all the topics in the discussion here it would take many hours and be exceptionally boring for the listeners. There is no taboo subject here, starting from local self-government through different professional and political expressions of different interests, to very specific differences, too, which do not concern the sociopolitical system or the method of management, and concern, for instance, the differentiation of choice of world outlook, the differentiation of ethical choice—the whole gamut of the real differentiation in Polish society.

What is already beginning to emerge here in the statements by many people—and I would like very much to support this, too, by my participation in the talk, in the discussion taking place here—is the awareness that beyond particular interests, beyond what is individual, beyond what is linked with a group's ambition, we have a start thinking of matters affecting all Poles. There are some seats unoccupied at this roundtable. (?Are they) the unoccupied seats of public opinion? Everybody is very well aware of this and this only appears to be a talk among ourselves—it is a talk, after all, which is to reach our omes; which is to be tested in those homes and it is in those homes that the final judgment is to be made, whether we contemporary Poles (?agree on) our solutions.

[Correspondent] Professor, what do you think? Will it be easy to reach a consensus here?

[Kubiak] Will it be easy to reach a consensus? Well, if it were easy, then what is happening here at this moment would not have come about. It wil be difficult to reach a consensus, but that is why I have hopes for it, for it is only what is difficult that is real.

[Correspondent] At my microphone is Mr Jacek Kuron [representing Solidarity], a participant in today's meeting on political reforms. If I were to ask you to comment on the stand that the government side presented, what would you point to as the most important aspect?

[Kuron] I think that it would be precisely this consciousness, probably very much underlined, of the necessity for deep democratic transformations. I suppose that this thought is mutual to the participants of the deliberations here, this idea is mutual. On the other hand, the problem rests on the fact that, it seems, that everyone knows this must be a process, that this must be carried out gradually, that this cannot be an accord between elites in the (?government). We are creating the conditions for the wide social masses to take part in this. For people must create democracy for themselves—democracy cannot be given as a present. As I would not wish to suspect anyone (?for) we find ourselves at this level of difficulty, that we are beginning to speak with words that are ever closer to each other, ever more frequently we are using the same words with the same meaning. I think that this must still go on - this process of getting to understand each other, this process of the getting through of words. We are slowly giving to words identity and unity.

[Correspondent] Today's discussion was not marked by verbal confrontation?

[Kuron] No, no. It was marked by the getting through to the meaning of words. And I think that this will go on for a while yet.

[Correspondent] Did you expect such a turn of events?

[Kuron] Slowly, yes. That is, it surprised me a bit. I was most surprised, I have to be honest, by Stanislaw Gebethner [independent representative], who spoke about how Poles need elections that are not confrontational but competitive. This is my own (?deep) feeling, that there must be elections in which society has not, is not limited in the putting forward of candidates and their selection. I expected from his side more fear at the prospect of this.

[Correspondent] Mr Moric [OPZZ representative], what is your impression of today's talks, what are your reflections after having heard the first speeches?

[Moric] I must say that despite statements from all sides that they would not go back to the past, in their speeches they do not however succeed in avoiding this element. This is the first impression. The second impression concerns the statements of the kind—overstressed as it were—that there is no democracy, that everything so far is wrong. Well, it is an element, as I say, which is half true. Because we all say that not everything is well, but we do not say that everything is wrong [words indistinct]. But the truth lies somewhere in the middle, and I think that in further discussions this middle ground will win.

[Correspondent] What position do the trade unionists represent? Do they represent the middle you were talking about, that is: Let us change what is wrong, and let us perfect that which is better?

[Moric] Did I assess present-day conditions? [word indistinct] as a trade movement I think that it is necessary to perfect all democratic forms, and the very fact is that in our union structures this democracy is full. We think that in other structures of authority, the state, other social organizations such elements of democracy should be developed.

[Correspondent] You said that certain speeches, certain opinions are overstressed. Do you think this may change after several days of talks?

[Moric] Well, of course, I (?think) this will happen. It is only the first exchange of views. These tables gather just to find consensus, and consensus will always be in the middle. And views will be reached which will be the real views, which will reflect the actual situation. [end recording]

Co-Chairmen Comment After Session

LD1102001989 Warsaw PAP in English
2145 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 10—Following the end of today's session of the roundtable political team, its Co-Chairmen Janusz Reykowski and Bronislaw Geremek told newsmen:

Janusz Reykowski: I think that we moved forward. It is a small step, but a step ahead. Naturally the main difficulties will emerge when we pass to the discussion over details, but a certain field has been specified and an assumption formulated. Thus, at the beginning, we are optimists. The debate touched upon the issues of the reform of the political system. I was authorised to present a certain vision of the reform of Poland's political system, a vision which assumes gradual, but considerable progress in the direction of establishing in Poland a really democratic order on socialist basis.

Bronislaw Geremek: First of all, it was a real discussion. Each side said what they thought. What is important, to my mind, is that we are currently balancing such a vision. Each side has the feeling of a conflict situation, difference of their stands and identity. At the same time a possibility of thinking in regard of Poland's interests, sharing the style of thinking appears. We are still divided, yet there is a chance for agreement.

Sekula on Economic Reform, Social Policy Talks

LD1302135289 Warsaw Domestic Service
in Polish 1105 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Excerpt] Before the roundtable team for economic reform and social policy began talks our reporters talked with the participants. They invited Deputy Premier Ireneusz Sekula first.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] The first day was for the presentation of stances; today the talk is to be on specific issues. What specific issues are to be expected?

[Sekula] We are concentrating on the intensification of economic reform and the conditions for its consolidation. As is known, the pace of this process depends on social consent as regards the inflation rate, the scale of price increases, and the balancing of the market. If it were possible to outline the elements of social agreement in this sphere then that, I believe, would be very important. Simply, the more quickly we pass through this temporary period full of disturbances, troubles, and problems, which is discomforting and strenuous, the sooner the reformed economy will start yielding visible results on store shelves and in restaurants in terms of available goods.

[Correspondent] During the first session it was perhaps worrisome that the opposition did not fully appreciate the reforming activities and the course of the reform managed by the government so far. What can you say about it?

[Sekula] I believe there is too little information. these are the first weeks of new factors in the economy. We also want [words indistinct] to present a more detailed report. to put it simply, what our partners formulate in terms of certain suggestions, postulates, or proposals is often already being realized. The discussion at the roundtable will also play this informative and educational role, I believe. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Walesa Calls on Students To Build Better Country

LD1002202189 Warsaw Domestic Service
in Polish 1800 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Text] At 1000 today, Lech Walesa met with university staff and students in the hall of the Collegium Novum of the Jagiellonian University.

[Begin Walesa recording] Today, I hear everywhere: Let's hold free, really free elections, and then things will be better in Poland. And I, a practical man, reply: It will be 10 times worse, because we have been deprived of pluralism, we have been deprived of forming a program, of forming an organization, and so on. So you see, everyone who thinks sensibly and seriously about Poland knows that today we have to say with regret that we cannot, up to now, talk about an election boycott. Today, we can exchange a few bad people for good ones and quickly build pluralism, build organizatonal and cadre programs, and only then, in an organized way, in so many years' time, when we have prepared good people and got to know each other can we attempt to get the country run better than now.

Give me arguments today for boycotting the elections! There are no such arguments, because the authorities say: We open up the possibilities of pluralism (?and) you can organize yourselves in almost all structures. Let's talk about this—what's more, they give seats in the Sejm and the parliament, which you, sir, even tried to get before. [applause] That is your goal, your duty, to help the broad strata; to show what is essential, vital, and your wisdom should serve to build a different, better Poland. [end recording]

[Warsaw Television Service in Polish at 1830 GMT on 10 February in a similar report, adds: "At this time, I appeal to and request all responsible people in this country to give the roundtable a chance for 6 weeks."]

Walesa 'Optimistic' After First Week's Talks

LD1102192889 Stockholm Domestic Service in Swedish 1700 GMT 11 Feb 89

[Text] Solidarity leader Lech Walesa met today with Foreign Minister Sten Andersson during the latter's visit to Warsaw. The Solidarity leader was optimistic about developments in Poland, and he told our Eastern Europe correspondent that a positive process is taking place in the country.

I have always been an optimist, and now I am a little more optimistic. This was stated by Lech Walesa when I asked him how he viewed the first week's roundtable talks between the government and Solidarity. Walesa was evasive when answering a question on whether he thought that the Polish Communist Party was prepared to give up its monopoly of power. One can say already today that much has changed and is changing in Poland. During the past few days the Solidarity leader has travelled around the country, urging the workers to refrain from striking while the roundtable talks are in progress. When they hear my reasoning, more than 90 percent agree with me, but I do not always get through with my arguments in time, Walesa says. Four strikes have broken out in Poland this week; this is not causing concern only in the government, but also in Solidarity. The independent trade union movement has gained a somewhat new role in the past few days: radical Solidarity supporters are accusing Walesa of cooperating too much with the government instead of supporting the striking workers.

Another question on which Solidarity may seem to have changed its stand concerns parliamentary elections. Solidarity earlier urged a boycott of the elections, but there are no longer any reasons for a boycott, says Walesa. There is not yet any democracy here, but there is an opening, there are new possibilities, and as long as this process goes on it is illogical to boycott the elections. We must obtain freedom in Poland, but the great freedom will not come all at once. We must prepare ourselves; we must learn and work out a program. A weightlifter has to train in order to lift weights; we are only 30 to 40 percent trained in democracy, and therefore one cannot ask that we should immediately become world champions.

Miodowicz Questions Walesa Appeal for 6 Weeks

LD1102214989 Warsaw PAP in English 2011 GMT 11 Feb 89

[Text] Nowy Sacz, Feb 11—Chairman of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ) Alfred Miodowicz visited Nowy Sacz today to meet trade unionists—members of the Voivodship Alliance of Trade Unions (WPZZ). The discussion focused on the "Roundtable" debates, questions concerning the future of the trade union movement and issues connected with overcoming the economic crisis.

During his visit to the electro-mining plant Alfred Miodowicz said to newsmen: Today I read in newspapers that while visiting the Jagiellonian University Lech Walesa appealed to give changes for the "Roundtable" with six weeks without any protest actions. How can one understand this? Why six weeks? If we have agreements with the government and we only differ in attitude towards some issues, let us work, let us decide that we are giving a chance to ourselves, and to the country for two years.

Miodowicz Statement on Talks

AU1002145789 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 8 Feb 89 p 1

[Roundup of statements made to TRYBUNA LUDU by participants in the inaugural session of the "roundtable": "Session Participants Told 'TRYBUNA'"—date, place not given]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted]

Alfred Miodowicz

"TRYBUNA LUDU was the paper that published the interview in which I made my 'reckless' proposal to hold a television debate with Walesa. Despite various ups and downs, that meeting in front of the cameras actually took place. It was an example of a high standard of political behavior that showed society and the world that it is possible to talk openly, despite having different views and ideas on solving Poland's problems, and various visions of trade union pluralism. What unites us are issues concerning the livelihood of Polish families, employees, young people, and labor veterans.

"If we take up these issues, if we all think in broader terms about Poland, society, society's present and future, then I am convinced that compromise solutions are possible. However, this will not be possible if only one side strives toward such solutions and the other side just 'sits on the sideline.'" [passage omitted]

PRON Representative Addresses Roundtable

AU1002145589 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7 Feb 89 pp 5, 6

[Speech by Jerzy Ozdowski, Sejm deputy speaker and vice chairman of the PRON National Council, at the inaugural session of the "roundtable" held at the headquarters of the Council of Ministers in Warsaw on 6 February]

[Excerpt] Mr Chairman, ladies and gentlemen: We have been prompted to come together at this table by good intentions of serving the Polish people and state, of serving the fatherland and our countrymen. We know very well that our acceptance of the formula of political and union pluralism is a truth on which it is possible—by way of dialogue—to build accord. What characterizes truth is its clarity and intersubjectivity [intersubiektywnosc].

In seeking to achieve accord, the question of pluralism has to be continually analyzed so that while preserving diversity, unity can be created on fundamental issues connected with the existence and development of our national community. The fact that we have started on an analysis of this kind today is a big step toward the democratization of our political life, which has finally begun to apply the methods of realism, criticism, and tolerance. Man as part of society exists among so many different and diverse realities that they cannot be cognitively conceived in a simple and clear manner. What is more, these realities that make up the social environment are often antagonistic, which means that conflicts are often exceptionally difficult to overcome. However, it is worth distinguishing between real pluralism, which reflects and preserves genuine differences from pseudopluralism, which merely sets individual or group interests against the common good.

However, for this distinction to be useful in practice, it is necessary to formulate the moral criterion of the common good as the sum of social conditions that permits members of society to achieve personal perfection. So, this criterion of the common good has both a personal and a social character, because it is a question of the development of personality not only within, but also through social life. [passage omitted]

Walesa Accepts TU Invitation to Visit FRG

LD1102161889 Hamburg DPA in German 1524 GMT 11 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—Lech Walesa, chairman of the still officially banned Solidarity trade union, has been invited to the FRG by the executive of the German Trade Union Federation (DGB). A letter of invitation from DGB Chairman Ernst Breit was handed over today by Erwin Kristoffersen, head of the international department of the DGB Executive, during a talk with Walesa in Warsaw. Walesa intends to make the visit as soon as possible.

After his talk with Kristoffersen, Walesa said that above all he had expressed his gratitude for the DGB's good cooperation with Solidarity in past years. Solidarity owes a great deal to the sensible attitude of Western trade unions, including the DGB.

Kristoffersen said that he had asked Walesa to come to the FRG as soon as possible. During the visit, one could discuss specific issues relating to further cooperation. The DGB is prepared to give not only ideological but also practical help to Solidarity. Kristoffersen is in Warsaw for a meeting of the steering committee of the German-Polish forum. He intends to argue in favor of future members of Solidarity being invited to this forum.

Walesa News Conference, DGB Promises Support

AU1302103989 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 13 Feb 89 p 2

[Thomas Urban report: "DGB Assures Solidarity of Help"]

[Excerpts] Warsaw, 12 Feb—[Passage omitted] At a small-scale press conference to which the Solidarity leadership had invited the FRG correspondents after a talks with Erwin Kristoffersen, member of the Executive Committee of the German Trade Union Federation (DGB), Walesa said that at the roundtable he is struggling for an evolution, but not for a revolution that cannot be successful. "Why should we go on strike if we can make progress in another way, too?" he asked. The decisive issue is whether the government will give juridically well-founded guarantees for the basic freedoms. Walesa stressed that the talks at the roundtable have come into being also thanks to support by big Western trade unions for Solidarity. The party leadership had repeatedly accused Solidarity of being cofinanced by the West, in particular by Congress in Washington. Said history professor Bronislaw Gieremek, head of the opposition delegation to the sub group for political reforms, briefly on this issue: "We do not let ourselves be prohibited from accepting gifts and advice."

In this spirit, Walesa expressly thanked the DGB for the aid granted to date and accepted the invitation to a trip to the FRG, which Kristoffersen had issued on behalf of the DGB Federal Executive Committee. According to Kristoffersen, in the future the DGB will continue to give not only ideological but also practical help to Solidarity, for instance in the construction of a new infrastructure. "The DGB, too, received its very first equipment from friendly organizations," said Kristoffersen, who heads the international department of the DGB Federal Executive Committee. The DGB does not have any official contacts with the OPZZ. [passage omitted]

Solidarity 'Roundtable' Participant Criticized

AU1302133289 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 9 Feb 89 p 2

[Commentary signed "fs": "What Is the Miner Alojzy Pietrzyk Looking for at Belchatow?"]

[Text] Barely a few days have passed since the "roundtable" session, which society has been hopefully awaiting for months. It seemed that at long last there was a chance of accord, despite the many different views, positions, and opinions.

Meanwhile... Alojyz Pietrzyk, a Solidarity participant in the "roundtable" inaugural session, arrived at the "Belchatow" Lignite Mine to lend succor to the striking work force and was, of course, accompanied by assistants. Let us remind ourselves that just last Monday [6 February] Alojzy Pietrzyk was saying, among other things: "...the common good requires bold steps that are in accordance with the well-being of our country, Poland." However, on Wednesday, barely 2 days after this inspiring statement supporting accord, he assumed a very different, surprising (?) position.

He said to the striking work force that the purpose of his visit (on the recommendation of and in the capacity of a plenipotentiary for Lech Walesa) was to "reduce conflicts," adding that one "should stand firm" and that at "the drop of a hat" 20 coal mines would come to a standstill in support of the work force's demands. He also described the strike at Belchatow as being an appropriate means of forcing the miners' demands to be realized.

Let us ask ourselves if these are the "bold steps that accord with the well-being of our country, Poland?"

Does this also accord with the idea of national accord and Poles sitting down at a common table?

In our opinion, this is the first sign of a return to anarchy that threatens to result in the breaking off of talks today and a wave of strikes, demonstrations, and social unrest tomorrow. Using strikes as a means of blackmail is not the best way of conducting extensive social negotiations, which is something that was proved by the experiences of the beginning of the 1980's.

We met at the "roundtable" to settle matters of importance for Poles and Poland together, despite our differences. Meanwhile, we face the threat of more strikes, at 20 coal mines to begin with....

Urban News Conference on Strikes, Roundtable

AU1002142589 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 8 Feb 89 pp 1, 4

[Transcript of news conference by Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban at the INTERPRESS Center in Warsaw on 7 February]

[Text] Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban's 7 February news conference began with a series of reports. We present the transcript.

Urban: I would like to tell you that a strike broke out at the "Belchatow" coal mine yesterday. The repair workshops and transport department went out on strike. The total number of strikers is about 2,500. I know from today's news that supplies of coal to the power station in Belchatow have been disrupted. The strike is based on wage claims. There has been a dispute between the strikers and the management about whether talks on the subject of wages should take place during working hours or outside them. The management believes that they should take place outside working hours. The strikers believe they should take place during working hours. As a result, there have been no talks at all.

Wage demands were also put forth at the "Sira" plant yesterday. Some 350 employees downed tools.

There was an Italian strike [as published] at the "Lenin" chemical combine.

There have also been protest actions by power station workers and health employees, including at the Poznan ambulance station. Demands concerning the distribution of wages were made.

But getting back to Belchatow, the strikers there are calling for changes to the wages system, and demanding that everyone receives Z30,000 until these changes have been worked out.

Mr Bobinski has asked me about the wage disputes in January, but I was unable to give a precise answer. Now I can say that there were 173 such disputes, three times as many as in December. A total of 6,000 workers took part in 39 different strikes or strike situations. The most serious strike was at the Pabianice Technical Textile Plant. It lasted 4 days.

The disputes can be described as follows. They occurred in smaller plants with relatively lower wages, with the exception of urban transportation enterprises and the State Road Transport Enterprise. There were also protests and work stoppages in the health service, and even in some ambulance stations, which is particularly outrageous from a moral point of view. But these were sporadic occurrences.

Generally speaking, the government finds all these wage disputes disturbing because they illustrate the existence of wages pressure. The reasons for them are various, but are frequently the result of a faulty enterprise economy or a faulty way of resolving wage issues.

Nevertheless, I wish to remind you that official prices of products were frozen throughout the final quarter of 1988, and the January increase in these prices was not excessive. There is still no accurate data, but last year closed with a wages increase that was about 15 percent, or, to be more precise, 15 points higher than the increase in prices.

Wages rose particularly sharply in December. Main Statistical Office information shows that there was a considerable wage increase then.

We are disturbed by this situation, and I wish to say so publicly, because if wage demands escalate and if some of them are met (I mean of course demands that are not economically justified), then the result could be bigger inflation, which we are supposed to be curbing. Such an escalation of wage demands will also affect market supplies and make it difficult to achieve market equilibrium.

A psychosis about low wages exists. But this psychosis is caused by the differences in wages. Disproportions between wages are clearly growing. This is in accordance with the economic reform scenario, though not always in accordance with the economic reform rules. To illustrate these disproportions, the wages of specialists at the Zamosc furniture plant in December did not exceed Z45,000 to Z50,000. They were usually in the region of Z40,000. At the "Delia" clothes factory in Zamosc, employees earned between Z100,000 and Z150,000. At the "Wedel" chocolate factory, average wages were Z56,000, and the highest wages were in the region of Z70,000. In the "Moda Polska" fashion clothes enterprise, average wages exceeded Z200,000. And yet most of its workers stitch clothes together.

So we can see that wages differ very much. There were many wage protests in the health service, which took place at the same time as talks on wage increases. This is generally known, so I will not talk about it.

I also wish to say that the government is concerned about the attitudes behind this wages pressure. We do not grant any concessions or subsidies on a regular basis. The government believes that this is the business of managements and workers, and that managements should pay whatever they can afford, according to the rules of the game that they have learned.

We will not abandon this policy, because that would be a blow to the reform. In any case, we have no legal possibility of doing so.

The second commentary I would like to make concerns yesterday's "roundtable" talks. I gave an assessment of them yesterday. There is a great amount of interest in these talks, also on an international level. The press, radio, and television have devoted a very great deal of space and air time to them. Against this background, I would like to give expression to a little concern and say that one should not attach excessive hopes to the "roundtable." Yes, it is an important event for the country, very important for its future if the talks succeed. But one should not expect the "roundtable" to solve Poland's problems. One should not look at it as if it were a magic spell. There is no need to think that an expansion of the political forum, an acquaintance with other points of view, and an accord which we hope will come to pass will alter living conditions. I am afraid of people being disappointed, even if the "roundtable" ends in success. Therefore, I would ask that moderate and realistic hopes be attached to the "roundtable" and its results.

Furthermore, life continues to go on while these talks are taking place, which they will do for some time yet. State bodies are working normally. We are implementing reforms and introducing draft legislation to the Sejm. The Sejm itself is working normally. We, the authorities, are not waiting for the outcome of the "roundtable." It would be neglect of our constitutional and political duties to do so, and it would also be politically unjustified, because all our initiatives are geared toward the reform, and not toward the wishes of any side taking part in the "roundtable."

Finally, another two remarks connected with press reaction to the "roundtable." There are various commentaries about the possible outcome of the "roundtable," claiming that it will lead to joint elections, joint concepts, and joint activity. That is not the way we imagine pluralism. Legalizing broad opposition circles does not constitute an alliance with them. It means that we will still face these circles. These circles will still be an opposition. It does not mean some kind of merger. What it means, and this is in accordance with our intentions, is that public life will now continue with the participation of various opposition groups, and that this will take place according to established rules and within certain limits.

Finally, a remark about domestic and foreign media and about their commentaries on the subject of yesterday. The media has failed to notice what I consider to be the most important thing; in other words, Lech Walesa's declaration that he agrees with the programmatic and organizational proposals of General Kiszczak. I believe that is the most important result of yesterday's talks, which were addressed to the whole of society.

Kari Matti Hoviseppa, KANSAN UUTISET (Finland): I have two questions. Yesterday, you said that the "roundtable" is very important for the socialist countries. Let us assume it will succeed. What effect do you think it will have on these countries, especially on those that have not been particularly keen on Gorbachev's perestroyka? Have you any commentaries issued by these countries about the first day of the "roundtable"?

Urban: Were those two questions or one?

I said that if the experience of pluralism and of coexistence with the opposition succeeds, it is bound to find an echo beyond Poland's borders and arouse the interest of the socialist countries as a positive experience in socialist development. And all the socialist countries, or almost all of them, are seeking new paths and undertaking greater or lesser reforms.

Compare this with the unsuccessful experiment of 1981, which had to end with the introduction of martial law; an experiment that led to economic disaster in Poland, severe political conflicts, and an insane political struggle; an experiment that discouraged democratic experiments and processes. I believe martial law put an end to these natural processes at a certain moment not only in Poland, but also in other socialist countries. I do not think Poland is the epicenter of the socialist world and that whatever happens in Poland will determine the future of socialism and the course of events in other countries. I only believe that the success of our experiments may have a positive effect on ways of thinking in the other socialist countries, and that failure must also have such an effect.

I still do not know the reaction of the socialist press, radio, or television to yesterday's talks.

Kari Matti Hoviseppa, KANSAN UUTISET: My second question is: Do you have any news about the death of the two priests, Father Niedzielak and Father Suchowolec?

Urban: No, I have no news. Investigations into the death of Father Niedzielak are continuing. Witnesses are being questioned and tests are being carried out. Because of the technical nature of these tests, which involve laboratory analysis, they will take a long time.

What the investigations have recently revealed does not cast any new light on the case.

As far as the death of Father Stanislaw Suchowolec is concerned, it has been established that he died of carbon monoxide poisoning as a result of a fire caused by a convector heater of the "Farel" brand. The heater developed a malfunction and its fan stopped, which caused it to overheat and the plastic hosing to catch fire. From the heater, the fire spread to the floor covering, carpets, floorboards, curtains, table, and chairs.

Thick smoke ensued, and the temperature rose, which caused the emission of a poisonous substance. The doors and windows were shut tight, the victim was asleep, and the result was tragedy.

Those are the results of the investigations so far. No external signs which would indicate a different cause of death have been detected. The investigations are continuing, and further tests are being made. The investigations are not over. I am merely presenting the findings so far.

Kay Withers, BALTIMORE SUN: I have two questions as well. First of all, I would like to know if anything new has come to light about the death of the militiaman in Stalowa Wola last August.

My second question is about the KPN [Confederation for an Independent Poland]. The KPN was supposed to have held its third congress last week. After several hours of what I might call disorganized activity, the security forces broke up the congress. And yet this meeting was due to adopt some sort of resolution or statements that might have led to the KPN's inclusion in the process of dialogue and its membership of the moderate opposition. In other words, if the security forces had not intervened and had given the meeting more time, the KPN might have had a greater chance of being recognized as a serious partner by the authorities. So why did they intervene?

Urban: This congress was broken up as an illegal gathering. Another reason why the militia intervened was that it was held inside a college, and the authorities had not granted this college permission to hold this meeting.

There is no reason to believe that the KPN wanted to alter its nature at this congress. Documents were found which indicate a completely different purpose.

As far as Lieutenant Turbakiewicz is concerned, the investigations into his death are indeed taking a very long time. Difficulties are being caused by the conflicting views of witnesses. Such a situation normally prolongs the time it takes to arrive at the truth.

I have heard from those carrying out the investigations that they suspect a conspiracy on the part of some witnesses, a conspiracy to provide wrong information.

Jerzy Gonczarski, EXPRESS WIECZORNY: I am sorry if my question is somewhat long. The State Office Employees Act of 1982 provides that a state official is obliged to declare his assets when applying for employment, or whenever his superiors ask him to.

Did the members of the former government of Premier Messner make such declarations? If they did, what conclusions are provided by a comparison between their declarations made upon assuming office, and their declarations made upon terminating their office?

Urban: Yes. The members of the previous government did make such declarations, and the members of the present government have also done so. But I have no information that the members of the previous government declared their assets when they terminated their office. Therefore, I have no way of drawing a conclusion.

Joana Radzyner, Austrian TV: A great spy scandal has erupted in Austria. The Polish Security Service is supposed to have had a network in Austria which kept tabs on Polish emigres and pro-Solidarity groups. Now there is a great scandal. Did the government know about this, and what is its attitude?

Urban: I have read about these revelations in the Austrian press. They are not true. I must assume this is some sort of internal Austrian game. I am very sorry that these revelations are making some Austrian readers think that some kind of dark and secret goings-on are hidden beneath the surface of good Polish-Austrian relations. This is a mistaken impression.

Radzyner: The spy who fled to West Germany was a press attache at the Polish Embassy in Vienna. His name is Nosek. This is generally known.

Urban: I have been authorized to deny the truth of press reports about a Polish spy network involving members of the Austrian authorities or Austrian state officials.

Stefan Dietrich, FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG: Returning to the case of Father Suchowolec, why did his dog lie in the priest's apartment for 2 days? Why is there no mention of this dog in the communiques issued by the prosecutor's office?

Urban: An autopsy on a dog that was the property of Father Suchowolec was performed at a veterinary medicine establishment in Bialystok on 1 February. The results of this autopsy coincided with those of the autopsy on the body of Father Suchowolec; in other words, this dog died of carbon monoxide poisoning.

Alma Kadragic, ABC News: How would you explain the conduct of Dr Sila-Nowicki at yesterday's "roundtable"?

I know that you know about it, because you were there. However, Polish television did not show it. In any case, witnesses have confirmed it. What happened was that Dr Sila-Nowicki spoke about the deaths of both priests, Fathers Niedzielak and Suchowolec, and asked everyone to stand up and observe a moment of silence. As far as I know, everyone did stand up. What do you think of that? Why should Dr Sila-Nowicki, a lawyer and a moderate and restrained person, do such a thing? He must have had a reason.

Urban: I cannot explain why Dr Sila-Nowicki proposed a moment of silence in honor of the dead priests. Every "roundtable" participant was eager to comply. However, the impression that these are political crimes involving provocation does not conform to the results of the investigations. Such an impression should not be made, even though two politically active priests have met violent deaths.

I consider it a very serious breach of the "roundtable" spirit that 2 days earlier, one of its participants spoke to Radio Free Europe and accused the security services of forming some sort of terrorist groups that are going around Poland and murdering people or voicing offensive epithets and issuing political warnings. This suggestion was made by a professional journalist. It is a clear breach of journalistic ethics and a violation of the honesty which this journalist has always preached to others.

Henryk Sroczynski, GLOS ROBOTNICZY: Will some kind of restructuring of the political system take place as a result of the "roundtable"? If so, what direction can it take?

Urban: One of the "roundtable" teams will discuss changes of a political nature, for example, Sejm elections permitting a heavy opposition presence in the Sejm. If the "roundtable" reaches an accord on the subject of these elections, talks on other changes to the political system will probably take place as well. Please do not misinterpret this as a change of system! We know that a second parliamentary chamber and the office of president are being discussed. These are all party ideas. No, I beg your pardon. The office of president is the SD's idea.

Christopher Bobinski, FINANCIAL TIMES: I would like to return to the Belchatow strike. Is the government taking any steps? It seems that the power stations and the mines connected with these power stations are not completely independent enterprises. In other words, the government probably plays a part in them. It seems that the strike is a "Solidarity" strike. My question, therefore, is: At the "roundtable," did the authorities ask "Solidarity" to stop this strike? And could you explain this business about the Z30,000? I understand that is a pay rise of Z30,000 per month.

Urban: If I have correctly understood the information I received, the Z30,000 is a once-only payment before the wage issues are settled.

I have no information about government interference in this strike. It may be that this situation will change and some Ministry of Industry body will want to intervene. However, this body will not play the rich uncle and bring a bag full of money. Instead, it will act as mediator. But the Ministry of Industry is not playing such a role yet. I know nothing about a "Solidarity" origin of this strike. Perhaps "Solidarity" did start it. We have not asked for an end to the strike. I have no exact information about the chain of events there.

Christopher Bobinski: One more question on this matter. How long before this strike will affect the country's energy situation?

Urban: I do not have such information.

Patricia Koza, UPI: I have a question about a statement that you made earlier about the death of Father Suchowolec. According to information that I received from the deceased's family lawyer, the autopsy on the dog did not reveal that it died of carbon monoxide poisoning. Also, a bottle of alcohol was found in the dead priest's room. The autopsy on the priest's body revealed the presence of 0.5 pro mille of alcohol in the blood. Yet the priest was a teetotaler who drank no alcohol whatsoever except for the quantities required by his official duties. What do you say to that?

Urban: I have provided the official results of the autopsy performed by the veterinary medicine establishment. However, every case like this, even one involving the tragic death of a priest, appears in different versions. I base myself only on official sources, not on circumstantial talks by journalists at the scene.

The presence of alcohol in the blood is nothing extraordinary in Poland. There is always a certain amount of alcohol in my blood. So I have no reason to make a comment. It is not an unusual situation. I, too, could be considered an teetotaler. Excuse my jocular tone in such a tragic context, but when I said in my interview for PRAVDA that I once drank alcohol with Walesa, PRAVDA changed it to tea and made me seem a teetotaler. From this, it emerges that such opinions are also caused by good intentions, justified for the sake of propaganda.

Zbigniew Salata, GAZETA KRAKOWSKA: We hear opinions whereby the 7 years since martial law have been wasted and have retarded Poland's development, especially in the economic sphere. Does the holding of the "roundtable" constitute an admission by the authorities that its previous policies were a fiasco?

Urban: These are untrue and clearly biased views. The economic situation has clearly improved since then. Although it is still bad and does not please society, the level at which we started in 1981 and 1982 following the collapse of the Polish economy was catastrophic. Well, we have made good this collapse, which cost one-quarter of our production. However, we have not been able to make good the per capita loss in production, because our population has increased by about 3 million since then.

Since the middle of 1982, production has been growing by several percent per year. Of course, this growth has not been steady. We have expanded exports and many other economic spheres. I know that all this is not enough, but the 7 years have definitely not been wasted because since martial law we have undertaken economic reforms, even though initially these reforms were inconsistent, fragmentary, and full of obstacles. However, we implemented them under conditions of political sanctions and broken links of natural cooperation with most of the highly industrialized world. Furthermore, during this time we also undertook political reforms, without which the "roundtable" would not have been possible. We commenced implementing these reforms immediately following the introduction of martial law. Thus, the "roundtable" stems from the country's natural political development toward increasingly broader democracy, and is a natural stage which both sides had to reach.

Soviet Paper Queries Urban on Reforms, Problems

PM0302160189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
3 Feb 89 First Edition p 5

[Interview with Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban by B. Averchenko and O. Losoto in Moscow: "A Difficult Choice: Poland: Political and Trade Union Pluralism"; date not given; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Many readers are interested in the processes taking place in Poland. Minister Jerzy Urban, Polish government spokesman, visited Moscow recently. We invited him to the editorial office and asked him to describe life in the fraternal country today, the socialist renewal taking place there, and the decisions of the recent PZPR Central Committee Plenum.

[Correspondent] Introduce yourself to PRAVDA readers, please. Tell them about yourself.

[Urban] My name is Jerzy Urban. I am 55. My official title is government press representative. I provide the link with the mass media and the public. I was in journalism for 30 years. I spent 8 years in my last post. I am married and have one child.

[Correspondent] For several years now you have held a news conference every Tuesday. Is it a heavy burden?

[Urban] It is not an onerous duty. Especially since there is nothing daunting in having to work really hard once a week. The news conferences I conduct have become a good political tradition. Polish journalists and foreign press representatives take part in them. They can ask any question on any topic of interest. Accounts and detailed reports on the press conferences are published in the Polish press, and full verbatim accounts appear in the government newspaper RZECZPOSPOLITA.

[Correspondent] What is your normal workday like?

[Urban] Each day is different. I work in weekly cycles. I prepare for my news conference by studying reports for several hours. They come from the Polish press and the foreign mass media. Then I talk on the telephone with responsible comrades working on particular questions, and this may be of interest at the news conference.

Like any functionary I have to take part in a large number of different meetings. For example, I sometimes take part in sessions of the government presidium, in the work of various government commissions, and in sessions of the Council of Ministers Sociopolitical Committee, of which I am a member. I also take part in the work of a number of party Central Committee commissions. They have been set up to prepare various political decisions and also to work on the most acute economic problems.

The point of our work is that today propaganda is not a simple set of words following the adoption of a decision. Today it is necessary to ensure that those people who work in information and propaganda, by taking part in the decisionmaking process and possessing information, can predict, consider, and utilize people's feelings and public opinion.

[Correspondent] The 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum decisions are undoubtedly a turning point in Poland's life. Today they are at the center of Polish society's attention and are arousing intense interest abroad, particularly here in the Soviet Union. What do you see as the fundamentally new character of the 10th plenum decisions? Are they a continuation of the party's strategic line or a completely new course?

[Urban] They are a continuation of the strategic line, although there has been a substantial change within that line. In the period 1980-1981 we tried to conduct an experiment with "Solidarity." That experiment failed, and it failed so badly that we were forced to save the country by introducing martial law. W. Jaruzelski, speaking on the introduction of martial law, stated that internal reforms would be implemented consistently in Poland and that we would not deviate from that line. The process of implementing reform brought us to the point where there was a need for a considerable change in current policy. There are many internal and external reasons for this. The external preconditions are the new shape of East-West relations that has arisen because of the implementation of the principles of Soviet foreign policy, and M.S. Gorbachev's course, which is having a considerable influence on the shaping of international relations. We recall how the West incited the opposition in Poland to pursue a policy of confrontation. Now that has changed considerably.

Progress in implementing the policy of restructuring and glasnost in the USSR influences the PZPR and political circles in our country as well as the opposition itself. The anti-Soviet sentiment in the opposition, at least in the moderate opposition, is disappearing, diminishing. This itself makes the opposition a partner.

The situation on Poland's internal political scene also inclines us toward carrying out an abrupt change. In the past 2 years, mainly last year, we made mistakes in economic policy which worsened society's attitude toward the former government and the authorities as a whole. As a result there were two waves of strikes, albeit of limited scale. There was a revival of the myth of Solidarity, on which some people pinned their hopes of a better economic policy. More than 300 illegal Solidarity organizations were created at enterprises, some of them large enterprises.

It has become noticeable that the PZPR's influence is waning and that the forms of exercising power employed until recently were outmoded. There was a change of political orientations in Poland, that is, a kind of recarving of the country's political map. The opposition split into two sections. One consists of those people who believe socialism in Poland cannot be reformed and must be replaced by another system. The other section consists of those who believe socialism is reformable and that by a revolutionary path it can be made more amenable to people's lives.

Since Mieczyslaw Rakowski's election as prime minister there have been substantial changes in the country's economic foundation, that is, radical reforms have been energetically implemented. The economic base is being transformed in such a way that there must also be a change in the political system and the position of the church, which is a great political force in our country, even though it does not declare the fact itself.

The present-day party aktiv has few followers among young people, who are skeptical and concerned mainly with their own private problems. The new trade unions, although autonomous [samostoyatelnyy], militant, and independent [nezavisimyy] , also create a serious problem of principle. In practice they represent the kind of force which basicallt does nothing but issue demands. For us this creates problems of seeking new formulas, independently of Solidarity. Those are just some of the preconditions which justified the change in our policy. The conclusion was derived from Poland's realities at the beginning of 1989.

In the historical sense this is a question of "to be or not to be" for the PZPR. The party's action as the initiator of changes, sometimes changes even more far-reaching than the opposition has proposed, is an acceptance of responsibility for the future and the taking of initiative into its own hands.

[Correspondent] The press has reported on the intense discussion at the Central Committee plenum. Clearly not all party members fully understood the need for an abrupt change, and there is much explanatory work ahead.

[Urban] Yes, of course, the struggle between different viewpoints and opinions will now become permanent. The stance taken by the plenum on political and trade union pluralism has generated different opinions in the party. On the legalization of Solidarity opinions were divided approximately 50-50. Polls attest to that. In society as a whole the majority supported the rebirth of Solidarity, but on new bases.

In the party and the state apparatus the resistance to the return to the Solidarity experiment is quite great. That is only natural, because everyone still remembers what happened in 1981.

As W. Jaruzelski has said, you cannot go forward while looking back. Talks and discussions are continuing with trade union centers, where there is also great resistance to the planned course.

[Correspondent] In that connection our readers are interested in the following question: Comrade Jaruzelski clearly said that the party remains on Marxist-Leninist foundations and that the PZPR is the party of working people and, in the main, the working class. At the same time you in Poland are talking about a broad political pluralism. Our readers ask: Apart from the PZPR, your country has the United Peasant Party, the Democratic Party, and other social associations. In the present conditions can new political formations appear? And, of course, this implies the question: Will Solidarity not return to its demand to be not a trade union proper but, essentially, a political party?

[Urban] The Central Committee stated that the PZPR favors political pluralism. This will be followed by the publication of a number of legislative acts: specifically, a draft law on organizations, which will be the basis for the activity of various kinds of groups, unions, and clubs, adhering to positions of observance of and respect for the provisions of the Polish Constitution.

Our philosophy is this: We shall look at the practical results of this whole matter after these organizations become part of the state fabric and state structures, assume responsibility for the country acting in the form of the opposition, and enter parliament; and if it is possible to negotiate with them on the most important and principled questions, they will be able to switch to more vigorous positions in the sphere of political activity—something akin to a party. In other words, this is a philosophy based on the principle that everything should proceed gradually, be decided by agreement and not conflict, and be verified in life and practice—and that only then should the next step be taken.

At the same time we set the boundaries which must not be overstepped, and we simply will not hold a dialogue with those who do try to overstep them. These boundaries are determined by the following parameters: the alliance with the USSR, and Poland's indissoluble link with the socialist community. This is a recognition of the priority of the socialized ownership of the means of production and the vanguard role of the PZPR, which will change [kotoraya budet izmenyatsya].

[Correspondent] In this connection we wanted to touch on another aspect of the question. There is the policy of pluralism and the freedom of discussion. But there is also the law, the citizen's duty to the motherland, patriotic duty, and so forth. How do you see this combination: pluralism and the law, discussion and discipline, and civic responsibility?

[Urban] Our position on this question, strange as it may seem, coincides with Walesa's present position: The law must be observed both by the representatives of the authorities and by citizens. After the discussions and the practical implementation of political pluralism the laws may change, but they must not be broken on any count. That is important for us, too.

[Correspondent] But how did Solidarity receive the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum decisions? Have there been positive changes?

[Urban] There was approval. That is, in the sense that they have now gotten what they wanted. On the basis of what has been achieved it is necessary to come to the negotiating table and hold a dialogue with them. We view their demands as the departure point for achieving the main agreement. When we talk about Solidarity we primarily mean L. Walesa and his group, because there is another grouping within Solidarity which opposes Walesa and with which we will not hold talks.

[Correspondent] At most of your news conferences journalists often ask you about Walesa and to comment about some action or statement of his. How would you characterize Walesa today?

[Urban] The Lech Walesa of today is a different kettle of fish although, of course, we cannot read his mind so cannot say with certainty what he is actually thinking. But in politics what counts is what is said and done. In that sense we regard his actions as being aimed at achieving agreement.

[Correspondent] But what about the man? Not all our readers know what kind of man Walesa is.

[Urban] I am not a close acquaintance of Walesa. We only met once for an hour, we talked and drank tea, but there is no doubt that he has now grown up as a politician and has become more flexible in both his actions and words. In all respects it is clear that he has revised his position on the basis of the experience and practice of 1981 and martial law. He has ceased to underestimate our strength. Outwardly he is a likable man who makes contact with other people easily. He is exactly the kind of leader, that is the kind of man, who can stand in front of a large group of people and arouse them, win them over, convince them, and take them along with him. Well, of course, he is not an individual of unusual scale, a leader whose mode of thought or action could change the destiny of the country or the world. But whatever else, he is not the kind of man who can be treated with contempt, and we did make that mistake, myself included.

[Correspondent] Which of Poland's domestic problems would you highlight as the main one today?

[Urban] The most important one is the economic problem. We have made and are making radical changes in our economy, but it takes time for the positive effects of our actions to appear. It also takes time for the West to decide to establish normal economic relations with us, but society will not give us that time because we have already appealed to it on a number of occasions, saying: just a bit longer, a bit more, and everything will stabilize again, everything will be normal. But it did not work out normally. We are now virtually racing against time. Today we need time more than we need dollars because we are afraid that we will not have time to achieve what we planned before society loses patience and rejects us.

For the economic reforms to achieve positive results more quickly they need greater radicalism and consistency, but society does not accept that. Society does not accept the consequences which inevitably follow from the process of implementing radical steps. Now many enterprises are putting forward wage rise demands with the threat of strikes, and if we yield we will of course be helping to fuel inflation and consequently will create even greater discontent among the population. That is our dilemma. If we do not cope with or slow the inflationary processes, and if we do not fill the shelves in the stores, no one will be interested in our roundtable, our talks with the opposition. Just like before the war, for example, when the League of Nations held sessions in which no one was interested.

[Correspondent] It is common knowledge that Poland's debt to the West used to be large. What is its foreign debt now, and what is the attitude of its creditors?

[Urban] At the beginning of the seventies our debts totaled $47 billion. We have now repaid $50 billion—the interest on that debt mounted up so much. The remaining debt was $38 billion—that is our debt today. We are currently holding talks with the Paris Club and with members of that club on a bilateral basis. We hope that the Paris Club will agree to divide our debt into sections and defer the payment on those sections, and that we will eventually be able to use IMF credits.

If we manage to create market conditions favorable to us, that will enable us to increase our export production. Then, of course, our opportunities to repay our debts will increase, as will our imports for the needs of our domestic market and the development of economic sectors. Our negotiating partners do not hide the fact that political barriers are the main factor in this. Some of them are promising to review their attitude toward us. Everything will depend on the progress of East-West dialogue and the kind of forces that prevail in the West, whether it is those forces which believe that the processes of change taking place in the socialist countries now can be supported by economic means or those which continue to advocate economic pressure on the socialist countries so as to make their position even more complex. Therefore, M.S. Gorbachev's policy is vitally important for us, not just because it concerns the prevention of war but also because it is a question of whether we will be able to count on assistance in overcoming our economic difficulties.

[Correspondent] In Poland now they are discussing questions of reinforcing the positions of local councils and organs of self-management. How do you view this?

[Urban] This process is constantly developing and progressing. We are giving it an economic basis. The issue concerns the law on municipal services, under which people's councils at local levels will have their own material and technical base to make them independent of the central administration. The second problem is to activate these local subunits, that is, to mobilize them to make more effective use of the rights and legal foundation which they already possess and to step up the activity of local self-management. The course of political pluralism, we think, will ensure the activation of this process.

[Correspondent] Now a few words about the Sejm. What are the new principles on which it will be elected? Have there been any preliminary drafts?

[Urban] We shall discuss all these problems during the roundtable meeting. We want to reach an agreement under which the constructive part of the opposition will play a significant role in the Sejm's work. The party is ready to surrender some of the seats it now holds.

[Correspondent] That means that the PZPR will not have an absolute majority in the Sejm?

[Urban] It will not. The majority would be formed by the PZPR plus the two alliance parties—the United Peasants Party and the Democratic Party. This is an important change and an innovation which would result in the PZPR no longer being able to carry out its decisions single-handedly, and there would need to be a certain coordination and talks both with the alliance parties and with the opposition on those questions which affect them.

At the same time we are proposing and, in the section on elections, want to achieve a provision which would state, on the one hand, that the allocation of seats would be uniform and equal for all participants and society's different social groups, and which would guarantee, on the other hand, the free choice of specific candidacies. There are plans for the creation of a second chamber in the Sejm, where we expect to achieve an even greater balance of the various political forces.

This is the kind of concept under which the opposition would take a real part in the work of the Sejm and would assume part of the responsibility for the state of affairs in the country. The work would be conducted on the principle of agreements and talks among all political forces. We are convinced that this would enhance parliament's role in state decisionmaking.

[Correspondent] But all this would be on the basis of socialism?

[Urban] Yes, of course, on socialist principles. Furthermore, we plan to create another institution in the country which would serve as guarantor of the socialist character of the changes taking place in Poland. That is a president with great prerogative powers.

[Correspondent] As is well known, Poland is a Catholic country. Our readers often ask: What are the state's relations with the church like, and how do those relations fit into the process of renewal?

[Urban] The church is a force in our country: More than 90 percent of the people in Poland consider themselves Catholics. The reality, of course, is somewhat different, because not all of them are practicing Catholics. The strength of the church is determined by many factors, in particular the fact that at one time in the past we tried to act against the church and this probably helped to strengthen it. Our principles in the sphere of mutual relations with the church are as follows: the separation of church and state, the achievement of accords with the church on the most important state questions, and the conducting of ideological discussions and disputes with the church, because we do not intend to draw a veil over the ideological differences.

The 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum raised the problem of believers in the party. For a long time we pretended that this problem did not exist. The view now is that the attitude toward religion is a personal and private matter for the party member. Belief in God is not an obstacle to entry into the PZPR. But at the same time party membership is incompatible with political clericalism.

[Correspondent] Which international problem would you call the main one? How is Poland taking part in resolving these problems?

[Urban] The success of the policy of detente and disarmament, in other words, those common causes for which we are all striving. In this area, too, there are no separate Polish interests. As for the specifics of Poland's external problems, I would have to name the problem of overcoming Poland's still marked isolation in the international arena, the normalization and restoration of relations with the West, the strengthening of international positions, and the establishment of economic contacts with Western countries. I am consciously not talking about Polish-Soviet relations, because there are no problems there of the kind we find in relations with the West.

[Correspondent] In recent years Polish-Soviet cooperation has developed intensively. New forms of cooperation have achieved general recognition: direct ties, joint enterprises, and border trade. How do you view the current level here?

[Urban] I think that these relations are becoming deeper and less bureaucratic. They are real, effective, and genuine. I think the new thinking typifies our relations today. We are departing from the idea that the things which distinguished our countries were presented as somehow negative. Poland, typically, has a very great interest in everything being done in the Soviet Union. There is much in common in these processes of change taking place in our countries. We realize that a certain era of socialism has ended. We are participating jointly in a voyage into the unknown, in the same direction but on different ships.

[Correspondent] Are you an optimist by nature?

[Urban] A moderate optimist.

[Correspondent] Give us your prediction: What will Poland be like 1 year from now?

[Urban] I think that we will be more successful in our political experiments and have great economic difficulties. If we succeed in considerably slowing inflation and filling the shelves in the stores with goods, I will be not a moderate but an unqualified optimist.

Urban Details Government Position on Strikes

LD1002193389 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Statement by Government Press Spokesman Jerzy Urban; date, place not specified—recorded]

[Text] In connection with the fact that strikes, as we see, exist and there is a strike situation in many other places in Poland, I would like to comment on this on the government's behalf. The government is not one of the parties in the pay disputes. The parties are the enterprise managements. We think that strikes aimed at getting pay increases are very unfavorable in an economic sense; neither are they rational.

In essence, this is a demand for the management to pay wage increases, which—if the management operates within its possibilities and powers—everybody would get anyway. It is envisaged that wages are to rise in the area of 40 percent this year. If they increasse later they will be correspondingly more, so that in the course of the year there would be that 40 percent. If earlier, that sum will be spread out over a greater number of months.

The belief exists that whoever goes on strike gains something. This is, generally speaking, a fallacy. I think that the government has not lost—as it is put—any strike, not just because it is not a party [strona], but because up to now management has never exceeded its wages authorization. I don't mean by this that all management decisions under pressure from a strike are economically sensible. If some management were to act in contradiction to the economic rules of the game, then it has to cope with it itself. It will be charged to the enterprise's economy. The government will not grant any tax concessions, any subsidies anywhere, because it has even deprived itself of such legal possibilities.

I say this to explain the rules of the game, and to deny the view which is spreading at the moment, to the effect that whoever strikes gains something and that the government is the party [strona] which, on behalf of the state budget, makes up the difference, in connection with the strikes. That's not how it looks. Strikes, however, are a very unfavorable phenomenon, because, in the first place, they cause production losses; second, they disrupt any normal process of wage negotiations, and normal economic logic pays for it.

Gdansk Youths Demonstrate Despite Appeals

LD1202153789 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 12 Feb 89

[Text] Our Gdansk correspondent reports that today after mass was over in St. Bridget's Church in Gdansk, Father Jankowski appealed to the congregation, and especially to the young people gathered in front of the church, to observe law and order. Unfortunately, the appeal yielded no result. A group of about 300 to 400 young people marched from the church and stopped in the vicinity of the railway station. The appeal by the militia to disperse was responded to with stones. The militia did not intervene.

Industries Continue Strikes; Protest Low Wages

Medical Unit Dispute Continues

AU1002184989 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 8 Feb 89 p 4

[Text] PAP—The doctors and orderlies of the Voivodship Emergency Medical Unit in Poznan, who have been undertaking a protest action since 2 February, rejected yesterday the new wage principles suggested by the Ministry of Health and Social Policy. Both categories of employees are working according to their schedules and the labor code, but are not working overtime. The employees of this Medical Unit have rejected the Federation of Trade Unions of Health Service Employees call to end all protest action.

The ministry's plan for wage increases does not satisfy our hopes, said Romuald Gibowski, chairman of the protest committee, and does not guarantee any real improvement in this sphere. Neither does it take into account the nature of employment in the health service, involving more than the statutory 8 hours of work. We expect an immediate start to talks with the relevant government commission in order to establish postulates that will be addressed to the Office of the Council of Ministers in writing. These postulates will refer to previous proposals concerning bonuses for duty when there is only a reduced number of staff.

Lycyna Luczak, chief medical officer for the voivodship, said: After the talks at the ministry, I met with the protesting employees three times. I discussed the new wage proposals at length. Following the first talk, I gained the impression that they had been accepted, but then the situation changed. Therefore, new meetings were held. However, the protesters did not change their minds and rejected the wage rules. The orderlies protest is particularly troublesome because the efficient transportation of sick people depends on their overtime work. Now the number of ambulance teams has been cut. Ambulances continue to respond to accidents and sudden illnesses, but working hours at evening first aid points in all districts of the city have been extended until 0000.

Steelworks Crew on Strike

LD1002225689 Warsaw PAP in English 2133 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Text] Kielce, Katowice, Feb 10—The crew of the electric steel-melting shop at the Marceli Nowotko steel works in Ostrowiec Swietokrzyski, Kielce voivodship, switched off furnaces at 1 a.m. today, announced a strike and demanded pay rises. Steelworks's general director Adam Sniadowski stated that the strikers had not accepted the information on principles of calculating pays in 1989. The scale of the pay rises demanded is not acceptable because it would shatter the entire pay system of the steelworks. "We are ready to resume any time the broken talks on the grounds of real pay capabilities of the enterprise," said Sniadowski.

Also today a strike over pay was announced at the electrical furnacs department of the "Laziska" steel works in the Katowice voivodship.

Transport, Steel Strikes Continue

LD1102115589 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 11 Feb 89

[Text] The strike continues at the Voivodship Municipal Transport Enterprise in Piotrkow Trybunalski. A meeting this morning of representatives of the strike committee with the management of the Transport Department of the voivodship office did not bring any results.

Strikes also continue at the Laziska Steelworks and in some sections of the Marcel Nowotko Steelworks in Ostrow Swietokrzyski.

Regional Strikes End With Agreements Reached

Laziska Steelworks Strike Ends

LD1302140389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Text] The managing director of the Laziska Steelworks has reported that the strike in this enterprise ended today at 1200 [1100 GMT]. A pay compromise between the strike committee and the management of the steelworks has been signed. Steps have been taken to resume normal work of the steelworks.

Construction Workers End Strike

AU1002184389 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 8 Feb 89 p 4

[Report signed 'J.W.': "Protest Action Ended"]

[Text] There is a chance that the dispute concerning construction workers working abroad on foreign contracts will end quickly, said Jan Sosna, press spokesman of the Federation of Independent and Self- Managing Trade Unions of Construction Workers, at a press conference on Tuesday. An agreement was signed on 3 February between the OPZZ construction branch, represented by Zbigniew Janowski, chairman of the Federation and a government delegation headed by Jerzy Szreter, director of the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy.

In this way, the nationwide protest action, started by 5 trade union federations following preliminary 23 January talks that had not satisfied the trade unionists, was ended. The trade unionists are demanding that the principles of the economic reform also be applied to construction work abroad.

During the talks between the Federation and the government delegation, it was decided that new rules governing wages and benefits that take into account the changes in economic management would be worked out and presented to the Council of Ministers by 31 March.

J. Sosna said at the press conference that there cannot be a situation where construction workers are preyed upon by middlemen from ministries.

The new rules are to take into account the following, among other things:
—The Minister of Labor and Social Policy will establish minimum and maximum foreign currency wages in each country;
—The number of posts at foreign building projects and the actual size of foreign currency wages will be determined independently by a body that decides on the payment of bonuses and other forms of wages;
—Overtime and danger money will be paid in the foreign currency which the above body has stipulated in a contract.

Most of the remaining principles remain intact—for the time being.

Power Industry Workers End Dispute

LD1002184189 Warsaw PAP in English 1658 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 10—The pay dispute started on April 3, 1988 by the Federation of Trade Unions of Power Industry Employees has ended, director of the community of the power industry and lignite Wladyslaw Matlak told a PAP journalist.

In the unionists' opinion, the dispute resulted from a failure to observe the agreement of 1981, which promised wages in the power industry equal to those in metallurgy. At the beginning of last year the difference reached about 4,000 zlotys to the power industry's disadvantage, and 8,000 zlotys after the first quarter of last year. The workers, however, did not go on strike.

The decisions taken by the Ministry of Industry, coordinated with the Ministry of Finance, bring about systemic solutions making wages growth in the power industry possible provided the means are worked out and good productive effects such as growth of discretionary power of generating plants and decrease of fuel consumption are achieved.

The Federation of Trade Unions of Power Industry Employees accepted the solutions and called off the protest action which had gone on in 26 organizational units of the power industry since February 6.

"We welcome the decisions of the Ministry of Industry. But we still consider them not to be systemic solutions. They solve the problem only this year. But there is still no proper procedure for gaining money for wages, not only in the power industry but in all industries," Chairman of the Federation Jerzy Kulczynski told the PAP journalist.

Marcel Nowotko Steel Strike Ends

LD1202160689 Warsaw PAP in English 1443 GMT 12 Feb 89

[Text] Kielce, Feb 12—The strike at the Marcel Nowotko steelworks in Ostrowiec Swietokrzyski, central Poland, ended after talks between delegates of striking workers and the enterprise's management had resulted in the signing of an agreement on Saturday, the steelworks' general director Adam Sniadowski said.

During the second shift last night steelworkers started up electric furnaces and a rolled section mill.

Under the agreement representatives of the workforce accepted basic pay raises proposed by the management, but said that the new payroll system will have to be tested by next May 15. After that date, a general assembly of the working crew will decide whether the new system is satisfactory.

The steelworkers obliged themselves to make up for the delays caused by the strike by the end of this month.

Intellectuals Air Views on Roundtable

AU1302154589 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 7 Feb 89 p 7

[Unattributed report: "RZECZPOSPOLITA Poll: 'To Everyone's Advantage'"]

[Excerpts] Directly after the end of the first day of "roundtable" talks, journalists asked representatives of the world of science and culture and economic and political aktivists to express their opinions about speeches made during these talks and about the prospects of success. We present the first remarks that we have recorded. [passage omitted]

Dr Urszula Swietochowska of Gdansk University: I think the "roundtable" was a political necessity. However, it is a pity that it started so late. It would have been much better for the country if it had taken place in, say, 1956.

Earlier on, I asked myself questions to which I have obtained no answers, and I do not know if I will obtain any. The first one is: Will Poland's welfare be the only dominating issue at the "roundtable"? And what kind of

Poland do the participants mean? I fear that the concept of Poland differs a lot from one group to another. What I have just heard confirms my fears. It will probably be the same during the "mini-roundtables." I think it is essential to decide what we mean by "Poland."

The second question: Will parochial interests not interfere with an accord? I have trade union parochialism in mind. The speeches by the chiefs of the present unions and former so-called unions indicate that this is going to be the number one problem that may affect the talks.

My third doubt is: To what extent will the political game at the "roundtable" be a fair one, in other words, played according to the agreed rules and supreme purpose? Really, I have many doubts, and I would like this game to lead to advantageous results for all of us. [passage omitted]

Dr Zdzislaw Niedbala, Poznan University: The first day of the talks has brought a feeling of relief. People spoke in a way for which we have been waiting a long time. The obvious differences in views did not eclipse the supreme goal of normal political, social, and economic relations, coupled with an observance of the priority of an authentic democratization of our lives. [passage omitted]

Jerzy Wilmanski, writer from Lodz: Exaggerated hopes always worry me, because a failure to fulfill them gives rise to aggression. I also see such exaggerated hopes vis-a-vis the "roundtable." Not even the greatest success of these talks will cause a magical improvement in the economic situation, or bring significant national accord.

These talks are merely the beginning. But even here I am disturbed by the biased tones and demagogical accents that I seem to have heard before.

The party has revaluated its policy and said so in public. The opposition has not made a public assessment of the policies it has pursued over the past few years, though one has to admit that it has expressed good will. But we are going to test this good will not today, but tomorrow.

Only the future will show whether the "roundtable" was just another attempt at accord, or whether it is the start of a new social orde?.

Professor Bronislaw Pasierb, Wroclaw University: As a political historian, I will find it easier to talk about the "roundtable" in a few years time, when it will be possible to assess the political, social, and economic changes initiated by it. All I can say today is that the "roundtable" is without precedent in our postwar history. It is an event of very great historic significance. This is the first time that people really representing the whole of Polish society have met. My opinion is that the debate between representatives of all the political forces in the country today should lead to society's attainment of sovereignty. That is the greatest value I expect from the "roundtable." [passage omitted]

Leaders' Public Appearances for 1-7 Feb
AU1002183689

[Editorial Report] Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish monitored from 2 through 8 February reports the following appearances of Polish leaders (date, page number of each report given in parentheses):

Kazimierz Barcikowski, PZPR Politburo member and deputy chairman of the PPR State Council, received Simon Raboara Rabe, the new Malagasy ambassador, at the Belvedere Palace in Warsaw on 1 February. (2 Feb 89 p 2) He received Muammer Akcar, outgoing Turkish ambassador on 6 February. (7 Feb 89 p 7)

Marian Orzechowski, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, received Nouxay Sithixay (name as published), the new Laotian ambassador on 1 February. (2 Feb 89 p 2)

Gabriela Rembisz, PZPR Politburo member, attended a PZPR district conference for the Nowe Miasto neighborhood of Poznan on 1 February. (2 Feb 89 p 5)

Marek Holdakowski, PZPR Politburo candidate member and first secretary of the Gdansk Voivodship PZPR Committee, held talks with Indian ambassador Gurdip Sing Bedi on maritime cooperation on 1 February. (2 Feb 89 p 2)

Janusz Kubasiewicz, PZPR Politburo candidate member and first secretary of the Warsaw Voivodship PZPR Committee, chaired a meeting of the Warsaw party organization's executive committee on 2 February. (3 Feb 89 p 9)

Marian Stepien, PZPR Central Committee secretary, met Janusz Majewski, president of the Polish Filmmakers Society on 1 February. (2 Feb 89 p 2)

Tadeusz Olechowski, PPR minister of foreign affairs, received papal nuncio Archbishop Francesco Colasuonno on 3 February. (4-5 Feb 89 p 2) He met R. Felber, Swiss foreign minister, in Warsaw on 6 February. (7 Feb 89 p 7)

Ceausescu Holds Talks With CPCZ Delegation

Meets With Hajn

AU1002172489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1701 GMT 10 Feb 89

["President Nicolae Ceausescu Receives Jaroslav Hajn, Chairman of the Central Control and Audit Commission of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 10/02/1989—Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, received Friday, 10 February, a delegation of the Central Control and Audit Commission of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, led by Jaroslav Hajn, chairman of the Commission, that paid a visit to Romania upon the invitation of the CC of the RCP.

Cordial salutes were exchanged on the occasion between Nicolae Ceausescu and CC of the CPC General Secretary Milos Jakes and the president of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Gustav Husak.

During the interview reference was made to the traditional ties of friendship and collaboration between the RCP and CPC, between the two countries and peoples, with emphasis on the deciding role of summit interviews and talks in their many-sided development.

The existing possibilities were underlined to further expand Romanian-Czechoslovak cooperation for the benefit of both peoples, in the interests of the general cause of socialism and peace, of progress and cooperation worldwide. In the context, stress was laid on the significance of stepping up contacts and exchanges of experience, on a party line included.

Prague Radio on Meeting

LD1102002689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Text] Romanian leader Nicolae Ceausescu received a delegation from the CPCZ Central Control and Audit Commission in Bucharest today, headed by its Chairman Jaroslav Hajn. Nicolae Ceausescu and Jaroslav Hajn briefed one another on the fulfillment of the conclusions of the 13th RCP and 17th CPCZ congresses. They evaluated possibilities for the further development of mutual cooperation between the two fraternal parties and people of both countries, stressing the importance of intensifying relations and exchanging experience, including experience in party work.

The Czechoslovak delegation ended its visit to Romania and left by air for home.

AGERPRES Reviews Visit

AU1002193489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1855 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 10/02/1989—At the invitation of the CC of the RCP, over 6-10 February, Jaroslav Hajn, chairman of the Central Control and Audit Commission of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, at head of a delegation, paid a swap-of-experience visit to Romania.

The guests conducted talks with Nicolae Constantin, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, chairman of the Central Party Collegium, and with Ilie Verdet, chairman of the RCP Central Auditing Commission. The Czechoslovak delegation met and had talks, at the Prahova County RCP Committee, with representatives of the working people's councils in industrial and farm enterprises in Bucharest and Prahova County. They also saw round new housing developments and socio-cultural establishments in Bucharest and over the country.

Ceausescu Meets With Iranian President's Envoy

Receives Larijani

AU1002190089 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1824 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 10/2/1989—Friday, 10 February, President Nicolae Ceausescu of the Socialist Republic of Romania, received Mohammad Javad Larijani, special envoy of the president of the Islamic Republic of Iran, deputy minister of foreign affairs.

On the occasion, President Nicolae Ceausescu was conveyed cordial wishes on behalf of President Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i of Iran.

A thanking Nicolae Ceausescu addressed a salute to President Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i and best wishes of prosperity and peace to the Iranian people.

During the interview the sides evoked the relations of collaboration between Romania and Iran, pointing out possibilities to amplify further these relations. In the context the special importance was stressed of the summit dialogue, and its decisive role in the development of the collaboration on multiple planes between the two countries, which meets the interests of both peoples, of the cause of peace, understanding and collaboration among nations.

Approaching certain aspects of the world political life, the sides pointed out the need to halt the arms race and implement disarmament, nuclear in the first place, eradicating underdevelopment and achieving a new international economic order, solving peacefully all the states of tension and conflict, building a world of peace and collaboration on this planet.

Discusses Relations

*LD1102105389 Tehran IRNA in English
0937 GMT 11 Feb 89*

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 11, IRNA—Deputy Foreign Minister for Euro-American Affairs Mohammad Javad Larijani met with Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu in Bucharest Friday.

Larijani arrived in Bucharest from Belgrade Friday to take the preliminaries for President 'Ali Khamene'i's forthcoming visit to that country. The date of the visit has not been disclosed yet but the president is scheduled to visit Belgrade within the next month.

In the meeting with Ceausescu, Larijani underlined the traditional ties between the two countries, and briefed the Romanian leader on the Islamic Republic's stands regarding international and regional political issues.

Also discussed in the meeting were ways of expanding Tehran-Bucharest political, economic, and cultural relations.

Ceausescu said Khamene'i's visit would be a good oportunity for him to get further acquainted with the Islamic Republic's views.

According to the Romanian news agency, AGERPRES, monitored here, the two sides also discussed issues pertaining to nuclear disarmament and detente.

Larijani also held a meeting with Romanian Foreign Minister Ioan Totu in Bucharest earlier the same day.

Ceausescu Sends Thanks for Birthday Messages

*AU1002094489 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian
8 Feb 89 p 1*

["Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's Letter to Those Who Sent Him Congratulatory Messages and Conveyed Wishes on His Birthday and for His Long-Standing Revolutionary Activity"]

[Text] I want to express warmest thanks to the party bodies and organizations, to mass and public organizations, to the working people's collectives in industrial and agricultural units, in ministries and institutions, to central and local state organizations, the workers class, peasantry, intellectuals, and to all those who have sent congratulatory messages, letters, and cables on my birthday and for my long-standing revolutionary activity.

I view all of these messages as an expression of the great feelings of love and attachment harbored by the Communists and all our homeland's sons for our heroic and glorious Communist Party, and I view them as an expression of the trust of our whole nation in the correctness of the revolutionary policy promoted by our party which, through its entire activity, has demonstrated and continues to demonstrate that there is no greater goal than to resolutely achieve our nation's aspirations for freedom and independence, well-being, and happiness.

I want to assure the workers class, the peasantry, intellectuals, all working people, and the whole nation that I will do all I can—as I have done so far—to ensure the progress and prosperity of our homeland, to increase the strength and unity of our party and enhance its leading role throughout the work of socialist construction, and to rally all of our nation's creative efforts in implementing our country's socioeconomic development programs and the party program aimed at building the comprehensively developed socialist society and the country's advance toward communism. I will unflinchingly work to constantly strengthen national independence and sovereignty and to continuously increase Romania's contribution to solving the great problems confronting mankind, and to the cause of disarmament, cooperation, understanding, and peace in the world.

The thoughts and sentiments expressed in the messages and letters I received strengthen even more my conviction that our heroic party and people—working in close unity and constantly perfecting all activities—will successfully implement the great targets of the current stage of our homeland's socioeconomic development, and will ensure our country's firm progress toward ever brighter heights of civilization and progress and the complete triumph of socialism and communism in Romania.

In turn, along with expressing my thanks, I take special pleasure in conveying to all those who have congratulated me, to the entire party and the whole nation best wishes for success in their work and life, and in the fulfillment of all their desires and aspirations for a better life, for well-being, and happiness, as well as wishes for fresh and great achievements in fulfilling plan provisions and in implementing the programs aimed at our country's development in order to welcome the 45th anniversary of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation and the 14th RCP Congress with ever greater achievements in all areas and in strengthening the independence and sovereignty of our socialist homeland.

I wish all of you, dear comrades and friends, much good health and happiness!

Nicolae Ceausescu

Leaders' Public Appearances for 4-10 Feb

AU1102151689

[Editorial Report] Bucharest AGERPRES in English reports the following public appearances of Romanian leaders during 4-10 February period (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

Nicolae Constantin, PEC member, and Ilie Verdet, chairman of the RCP Central Auditing Commission, held talks with a CPCZ delegation led by Jaroslav Hajn, chairman of the CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission, in Bucharest—date not given. (1855 GMT 10 Feb 89)

Stefan Andrei, PEC candidate member and deputy prime minister, and Ioan Ungur, minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, received Robert Robertson, deputy chairman of the Romanian-American Economic Council, in Bucharest on 10 February. (1857 GMT 10 Feb 89)

President Nicolae Ceausescu chaired a PEC meeting in Bucharest on 8 February. (1817 GMT 8 Feb 89) Nicolae Ceausescu received Jaroslav Hajn, chairman of the CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission, in Bucharest on 10 February. (1701 GMT 10 Feb 89) The same day Ceausescu met with Mohammad Javad Larijani, special envoy of the president of the Islamic Republic of Iran. (1824 GMT 10 Feb 89)

Emil Bobu, PEC member and secretary of the RCP Central Committee, attended and addressed a plenary meeting of Bucharest City RCP Committee and a session of Bucharest City People's Council, in Bucharest on 4 February. (0754 GMT 6 Feb 89)

Stefan Andrei, PEC Candidate member and deputy prime minister, received Mohammad Javad Larijani, Iranian deputy minister of foreign affairs, in Bucharest on 10 February. (1859 GMT 10 Feb 89)

Ioan Totu, candidate member of the PEC and minister of foreign affairs, attended the ceremony at which President Nicolae Ceausescu received the credentials of the new ambassador of Brazil, Milton Bezerra Cabral, in Bucharest on 8 February. (1535 GMT 8 Feb 89)

Ion Stoian, RCP Central Committee secretary, met with Israeli Premier Shamir and Foreign Minister Arens, in Tel Aviv on 9 February. (1925 GMT 9 Feb 89)

LCY Central Committee To Replace 40 Members

LD1002202689 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1804 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 10 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia's party top will perform the true cadre changes in its ranks at the forthcoming plenum of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee (CC) called for February 17—secretary of the LCY CC Presidency Stefan Korosec announced today.

The party plenum, said Korosec in his interview to TANJUG, should replace 40 LCY CC members.

Replacement of party leaders results from the resignations, the relieving of duty of CC members, and from the party decision to separate the state from party posts.

At the recent LCY CC session, eight new members were elected to the country's party top, but 22 more vacancies have remained. Montenegro's party announced the replacement of seven of its members in the LCY, while other republics' and provinces' parties are expected to make similar announcements—said Korosec.

At the latest LCY CC plenum those who left the Yugoslav party top were, among others, the ex-presidents of the state Lazar Mojsov and Sinan Hasani, former interior minister Stane Dolanc, and outgoing premier Branko Mikulic.

The departure of old and the arrival of new party leaders is the prerequisite for the execution of a lengthy list of assignments awaiting the Yugoslav party, assessed Korosec.

Korosec hoped that the renewed Central Committee and its Presidency would show greater initiative and creative power in the enforcement of the three reforms in Yugoslavia.

During preparations for the party congress, which is to be held before the year is out, it is necessary to draw up a document on reforming the LCY and an operative programme for the implementation of conclusions from the latest plenum, Korosec stressed.

Also necessary, said Korosec, are innovations in the political activity aimed at stabilizing the situation in Kosovo, Yugoslavia's province out of which Serbs and Montenegrins are moving in large numbers under pressure exerted by Albanian separatists and chauvinists.

Korosec was optimistic as to the absence of essential differences in the Yugoslav party top regarding society's strategical commitments. He said that misunderstandings, rather than any unbridgeable differences, existed.

Korosec evaluated that an exit existed in recognizing the legitimacy of these differences, especially as regards the different ways of exercising joint interests.

The Yugoslav party, Korosec maintains, must stop dealing with itself and turn toward the solving of the actual social problems, above all those concerning the implementation of economic reforms and the questions vital for Yugoslavs.

LC 'Has Already Taken Over' Role of Assembly

AU0802122589 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
3 Feb 89 p 2

[Bozidar Andrejic commentary: "According to the Consensus Pattern"]

[Text] When the workers of the Famos special vehicles work organization decided last year to hold the session of their workers' council at the SFRY Assembly building, the following explanation appeared in the press the next day:

"The SFRY Assembly does not rent its rooms for the meetings of management organs of work and other organizations. If they were to hold their sessions in the SFRY Assembly building, that would in fact mean that they would be taking over the function of the SFRY Assembly."

The people of Famos only thought that the Assembly building would serve as the most suitable asylum, where after many years they would finally be able to elect "their" director "according to their own will and without the interference of local, powerful people."

Judging from the statement issued, one may think that other organs and organizations can really no longer hold their sessions in the SFRY Assembly building. This would also apply to the plenums or sessions of the SAWPY Federal Conference, which are usually held there.

However, the holding of the 20th LCY Central Committee session has negated this idea.

Is the fact that it was held in the SFRY Assembly building an admission that the assembly hall was "rented" to the Central Committee for the very reason that the latter has already "taken over the role of the SFRY Assembly?"

However symbolical and anecdotal this idea may be, it is only a grotesque reminder of the fact that during the last several years there have been many serious reasons that the above question is to the point. This was very precisely put by Branko Greganovic, president of the Yugoslav youth, in an interview he gave to Titograd POBJEDA only a few days before the 20th plenum, when he said that he did not expect anything from the plenum:

"The Central Committee's position within the system and according to the Constitution makes it impossible for it to do anything, just as its position in the system makes it impossible for anybody to blame it for what is happening in the country. The fact that the Central Committee has taken over the Assembly's jurisdiction and responsibility and has transferred them to itself is a different matter. This is how the party in power is being established more and more every day. As long as problems are solved within Central Committees, the country will fall deeper into disaster."

This is why there was sufficient reason to say in the introductory speech at the plenum that "the most important thing for the democratic socialist vision of the future is to abolish the political monopoly of the LCY and to strengthen its role as labor vanguard, cohesive ideopolitical factor, and as proponent of strategic initiatives." However, as long as some speakers continue to express their concern about the LCY Central Committee stances on agricultural policy not being implemented—obviously believing that the party still knows best about everything—it is small wonder that the highest party body, wherever it may be holding its sessions, is acting like the Assembly more and more and is doing so in a worse sense of the phrase. It is obvious, in fact, that the Chamber of Repubiics and Provinces is much more "threatened" by this trend and by the "SFRY Assembly's role being taken over" by the LC than the Federal Chamber.

We have seen many times that the LC, which has moved into the state too much, as well as its Central Committee, both affected by their own (con)federalization in their work and decisionmaking, much more readily use the consensus pattern of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces than the majority vote method used by the Federal Chamber.

This is what threatens the LCY, the SFRY Assembly, and Yugoslavia much more than the possibility of a workers' council "misusing" the delegate assembly building would.

POLITIKA Replies to Druzic's Plenum Speech

AU0802133789 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Feb 89 p 9

[u.p. commentary: "Skillfully Done, There Is No Doubt About That"]

[Text] When making his inadequate comparisons at the 20th LCY Central Committee session, Ivo Druzic found it appropriate to say the following, among other things:

"Why do you, Comrade Slobodan, need to have seven headlines or articles attacking Comrade Suvar in a single issue of POLITIKA?"

Druzic has therefore allowed himself to make the allusion that Slobodan Milosevic almost runs newspapers and that attacks against Suvar are organized.

It is very clear that in Druzic's opinion, somebody else should run newspapers, not newspapers themselves. From what personal "democratic experience" does Druzic conclude that Milosevic is running newspapers? It seems that Druzic has his own experience in exerting influence on the press on the basis of which he thinks that the same thing applies elsewhere, including POLITIKA.

One could see very clearly in the media—and not only in POLITIKA (in fact, during the last few days POLITIKA carried the fewest reports)—that criticism against Suvar and demands for his dismissal were voiced at official meetings. POLITIKA has reported on this. Druzic omitted the fact that we have reported on meetings, just as other newspapers had done, and he also failed to say what issue of POLITIKA he meant. He did not think that this was important. The important thing was to single out POLITIKA.

After the accusations for directed populism, what we hear now (and maybe it is logical) are demands for a directed press as something which is only natural. The press should be directed on not only how to write, but also on not reporting what is happening at meetings and what citizens think.

Druzic seems to think that in that case nothing has really happened.

It is a strange concept of freedom of the press.

One would not have to mention this at all had Druzic not displayed a rather transparent craftiness. Instead of directly accusing POLITIKA (if he had his reasons), he mentioned POLITIKA only in order to allude to the president of the Central Committee Presidium of the LC of Serbia in connection with something he really has nothing to do with.

Skillfully done, there is no doubt about that.

Dizdarevic Speaks on Problem of Inflation

LD1002185189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1730 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Text] Banja Luka, Feb 10 (TANJUG)—During a period of crisis Yugoslavia today is wasting its energy on questions which are making life miserable even more instead of concentrating on a path of progress—resolving the pressing problem of inflation for example, Yugoslav State Presidency President Raif Dizdarevic today said in a talk with representatives of the electronic industry Rudi Cajavec of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The question of inflation, on which the 1988 policy failed, is one of the most difficult questions in Yugoslavia today. Thus seeking an effective solution to this problem will be the primary task of Premier-Designate Ante Markovic's new government, Dizdarevic pointed out.

After assessing that, unfortunately, not everyone in Yugoslavia thinks the same way about inflation, Dizdarevic stressed that there can be no differences over one issue—over the strengthening of Yugoslavia as a community of equal nations and nationalities, based on brotherhood and unity and self-management socialist democracy which is oriented towards development.

Germs and development are impossible if only narrow interests are considered where accord is of vital importance, Dizdarevic said.

For example, the Yugoslav Presidency voted for intervention on imports three times in the past few months as a temporary solution to sky-rocketing prices, Dizdarevic said, but some federal institutions are delaying import related operations to such an extent that inflation devalues the imports.

Another example, the federal parliament has been discussing the construction of the "brotherhood-unity" highway for more than a year because each republic wants to smuggle in a road of local interest.

Yugoslavs have nevertheless shown that they will not give in to that which threatens their future, Dizdarevic said. They believe in a common future, in a united country where common interests will be preserved, but the best way to channel his wish has not yet been found.

Markovic Addresses Businessmen on Economic Policy

AU0902155989 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 2 Feb 89 p 8

[Unattributed report: "Do Not Come for Money"]

[Text] Today, in his conversation with the directors of the leading and most successful Yugoslav work organizations, Ante Markovic reiterated in a concise and succinct way one of the fundamental principles of his program which he had presented to the Presidium of the SAWPY 3 days earlier. Having said that he understood the meeting with businessmen in the Economic Chamber as the first response of those who are supposed to carry out the reform, the premier designate, trying to avoid the repetition of what had already been stated, pointed out that this kind of talk will become a permanent form of cooperation between the "general staff and its units in the joint struggle."

Ante Markovic supported the businessmen's demands for deregulation and less normativeness as the prerequisites for associated labor to truly start creating the economic and development policy. According to him, there are still many obstacles on that road, ranging from economic and political obstacles to the time factor. Markovic pointed out that the crisis is so deep that one is not prepared to wait for even the smallest results, and that this was the reason for the need to combine the measures of the current and development policies.

Markovic insisted on creativity, initiative, and the accountability of the leading businessmen and their organizations, saying that the basic constitutional provisions are sufficiently good for the development concept, which aims for a new socialism. He pointed out that all of society must support those who are the most successful, with as little state interference and transfers of income as possible, and that every move must be verified by the market, be it a business decision or the interest rate policy. Markovic pointed to the reform of the banking system, the introduction of securities, and securing additional funds for accumulation as the prime objectives in the creation of a new economic policy. For this reason, we must attach much more importance to joint investments than to raising loans.

Speaking again about the new policy's constraints, Markovic mentioned another one: businessmen themselves, especially the most successful ones, addressing to those present in the great hall of the Yugoslav Economic Chamber a number of questions, which amounted to: "Are you ready?" He also said the following: "Do not come for money, but you can come for professional advice at any time."

Commentary Views Markovic's 'Public Debut'

AU1102173689 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Feb 89 p 7

[Zvonko Logar commentary: "The Debut of the New Premier Designate"]

[Text] With his public debut, the candidate for the new FEC Presidency has won his first political points. He has left an impression of being a man who knows what he wants. Although he only presented a general outline of his program, his stances, at least their main points, will satisfy even the most fervent supporters of the economic reform.

One could conclude from Markovic's first speeches that he is a person who will not easily accept unprincipled bargains. Although he did not say so directly, he made several allusions to the fact that he will always have a resignation statement ready in his pocket in case he is faced with making a crucial choice between his political and economic beliefs, or any concessions which would call his beliefs into question. He did set a kind of condition when he said that he will decline the post of premier designate if he is not able to get capable people for the FEC.

True, it frequently happens in politics that people who aspire to a high social post promise all sorts of things at the beginning, but they later do things they must do. However, this does not have to be the case this time. For here is a man who has made his mark in politics and particularly in business, so that at his age he does not have to worry about his career. This fact ensures his integrity and enables him to formulate a program without primarily thinking about how to market himself politically. Hence the public's impression that he really means to implement what he has planned and has said he would.

Markovic is a politician definitely devoted to the market option. He opposes consensus economy and thinks that the realization of the idea of a free exchange of labor is possible only in the future. In fact, what he presented is more than an ordinary political program of a premier designate. In his first speeches he also offered a philosophy of a different socialism. He is probably the first politician in our country to make the blunt diagnosis that all socialist models known so far have had two weak points: inefficiency in economy and insufficient democracy in political relations.

On this thesis Markovic built his vision, which denies the idea of the socialism of poverty. He champions the view that socialist self-managing economy can be efficient if its business ventures are not limited by state interference. On the contrary, under the new conditions, the state must protect the businesses and entrepreneurial freedom in the economy.

Therefore, by saying that the FEC and the SFRY Assembly must have their opinions, Markovic has indirectly announced the cutting of the existing "umbilical cord" between politics and the economy. In his opinion, there will be no success "if we constantly defer to a third opinion." Can one discern here a hint that the FEC will not ask for the blessing of the LCY Central Committee or the state Presidency for every important measure?

Turning from his idea of freeing the economy from state control to practical issues, the premier designate promises a broad deregulation which should enable an unfettered business initiative. He calls on the businesses to organize themselves to assume an entrepreneurial function as soon and as freely as possible, promising that the people employed in the state administration will be the ones to respect and encourage business initiative. His vision has much room for managing and managers who, in his opinion, do not threaten the power of self-management but further it.

The main point of Markovic's program as concerns economic policy is economic expansion. To him the largest possibilities lie in a multiple increase in exports, believing that even with the present economic structure much more can be done in that respect. This would be achieved primarily by considerably liberalizing the exports of raw and production materials. The program is more than ambitious: Exports should be increased by 2 and ½ times in 5 years!

Having realized that the crisis demands that direct steps should also be taken, Markovic advocates a combination of the measures of current policy and of development policy. This means that one should make moves which will not aggravate the situation, but also one should not oppose moves that change economic structure.

The premier designate's program is somewhat less definite about the question of inflation. He seems to see it calming down only in connection with the coming "spring cleaning" in the economy, and mentions as if in passing that the wave of price increase and the monopoly on our market will be fought with imports. He will certainly have to return to this topic because Mikulic's government was forced to resign primarily because of high inflation.

Placing the stress on successful and capable collectives, Markovic rightfully thinks that they are the only ones who can pull us out of the crisis. However, it is well-known that the ones that cannot be considered successful have always presented a challenge to Yugoslav politicians. They will perhaps be a hard nut to crack for the new team as well.

The new government will have to walk the tightrope as concerns the less developed parts of the country. In his first speech, Markovic himself argued, using the metaphor about a convoy of ships which must adjust their speed to the fastest and not the slowest among them. He also mentioned the Fund for Less Developed Republics and Kosovo. If the management of the money coming from that source is adjusted to the requirements of a developed market, the problem of the underdeveloped regions will really appear in a different light. In that case, however, one would inevitably have to establish a competition of the investment programs offered for underdeveloped regions, and therefore have the fund turned into a kind of bank.

Markovic assesses that the consolidation of the Yugoslav economy will need at least another 5 years, in which he agrees with the opinion of the majority of economists. This, of course, will happen only if reforms are embarked upon immediately and resolutely.

The premier designate has claimed twice already that the Constitution offers a sufficient maneuvering space for the activity of the FEC. Branko Mikulic said the same thing about the Constitution of that time, but when leaving not only did he deny it, but he also expressed suspicion about the previous year's amendments.

The new person in the premier's role will probably realize that in our state, which is primarily political and not legal, political loyalty is much more important than constitutional limits. Therefore, Markovic's political fate as premier will most probably depend much more on the relationship between political factors and he and his team. If he manages to win the loyalty of powerful political centers in the Federation and particularly in the republics and provinces, then the constitutional provisions will suffice even if a particular measure is not to everybody's liking. If he fails to achieve this, even a better constitution will be of no help.

Because of all this, Ante Markovic's confrontation with the challenges facing him could be a test not only of him, but also of many centrifugal forces in Yugoslav politics. What is involved here is a man who has some advantages in the possible confrontation with these forces because due to his views, experience, and years of work he has nothing to lose. On the contrary, he can hold the key to the situation in his hands and thus help considerably to make the politicians depend on a kind of market appraisal in due course. The situation in which governments are changed but those who supported their policy to the last moment remain completely unscathed cannot continue much longer.

Kabul Departure Described as 'Temporary'

LD0902190289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1606 GMT 9 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 9 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Embassy in Kabul organized the departure of families of Yugoslav diplomats from Afghanistan as a temporary measure which is understandable in the given circumstances and which has been taken in other similar situations, Yugoslav Foreign Ministry Spokesman Ambassador Ivo Vajgl said at today's regular news conference.

The Yugoslav charge d'affaires in Kabul received instructions that he and other embassy personnel can leave Afghanistan if his colleagues from other embassies do so, Vajgl said.

The Yugoslav charge d'affaires is obliged to leave Kabul if the lives or health of embassy employees and their families become threatened, Vajgl said. He explained that this was the principle by which Yugoslavia has long abided and which in no way determines in advance the political stand towards the events in Afghanistan.

In addition to Yugoslav News Agency TANJUG's correspondent, several other Yugoslav journalists will leave for Kabul soon, Vajgl said.

In reply to a question concerning the upcoming visit of Iranian President Khamene'i to Yugoslavia, Vajgl said that major importance was attached to the arrival of the Iranian head of state to Yugoslavia and added that the present visit of Iranian Deputy Foreign Minister Larijani to Belgrade was part of preparations for the visit.

Stane Dolanc Receives FRG's Horst Ehmke

AU0902150689 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Feb 89 p 8

[TANJUG report: "Dolanc Receives Ehmke"]

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Feb—Stane Dolanc, vice president of the SFRY Presidency, today received Dr Horst Ehmke, member of the Presidium of the Social Democratic Party of the FRG. During a brief conversation they discussed further developments in the cooperation between the two countries, and some current events in Europe. Horst Ehmke was interested in the sociopolitical trends in Yugoslavia and efforts made to overcome present difficulties.

The talk was also attended by Vasil Tupurkovski, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and Dr Hansjoerg Eiff, the German ambassador to Yugoslavia.

Proceedings of Kosovo LC Provincial Meeting

Date Changed to 11 Feb

LD1002151489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1418 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Excerpt] Pristina, 10 Feb (TANJUG)—The session of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee [PC], which was initially scheduled for Monday, 13 February, will be held tomorrow. The holding of the PC plenum 2 days before the originally announced date, was prompted—it was explained at a press conference today—because of the PC's obligation to establish candidates for membership of the Central Committee as well as candidates for membership of the LCY Central Committee Presidium from the Kosovo LC, before the next LCY Central Committee session. [passage omitted]

Juniku Opening Statement

LD1102191989 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1634 GMT 11 Feb 89

[Text] Pristina, Feb 11 (TANJUG)—Misinformation about the proposed changes in the Constitution of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia were one of the chief causes of the mass protests of ethnic Albanians in the Autonomous Province of Kosovo last November, as Musa Juniku, member of the League of Communists of Kosovo Presidency, set out in the opening statement at a session of the LC of Kosovo Provincial Committee today.

The session is devoted to determining the causes, character and consequences of the protests and demonstrations held in Kosovo's capital of Pristina and other towns in the province last November.

One of the reasons for the demonstrations was also the wrong impression that personnel changes were carried out in the LC of Kosovo Provincial Committee under the pressure of higher organs of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY), individual press articles and unprincipled attacks on some Albanian officials, Juniku said.

In connection with the proposed revision of the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia, groundless fear was sown that constitutional amendments would be adopted without acknowledging Kosovo's positions on them and that the autonomy of the Kosovo Province and the equality of the Albanian nationality with the other Yugoslav nations and nationalities would be undermined, Juniku set out.

What the organizers of the protests in Kosovo last November actually wanted to accomplish was to prevent the implementation of the conclusions on the responsibility of the Kosovo leadership adopted at the 17th LCY Central Committee session, to block party activities along the line of implementing the adopted policy on Kosovo and to resist changes in the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia, Juniku said. Both Kosovo and Yugoslavia's other autonomous province, Vojvodina, are part of Serbia.

All the above, Juniku set out, was a form of pressure on Serbs and Montenegrins to move out of the province and was aimed at attaining an ethnically pure Kosovo and, ultimately, at fulfilling the counter-revolutionary goal of Kosovo as a republic.

The largest number of citizens, especially workers, cannot be accused of having had nationalistic intentions. On the contrary, a large number of them have asserted their Yugoslav orientation, Juniku said.

A large number of citizens in Kosovo (predominantly ethnic Albanians) still fail to understand the core of the problems in that province. Many believe that the problems are not as serious as they are said to be and that everything is being done strictly in the interest of Serbs and Montenegrins, Juniku set out. What that means is that the awareness of the serious consequences of the 1981 counter-revolutionary developments and of the indispensability of changes in society and of personnel changes has not predominated yet, Juniku specified. Therefore, it is necessary to intensify the ideological-political activity in order to explain the essence of changes in Serbia's Constitution, he observed.

We call for constitutional changes which will enable the Republic of Serbia, as a state and self-management community, to exercise the necessary functions on all of its territory and the provinces, which are a part of Serbia and constituent elements of the federation, to exercise the essence of their autonomy, Juniku underscored.

The difficult political situation in the province of Kosovo has additionally been burdened of recently by protest gatherings and work stoppages staged by workers, predominantly ethnic Albanians, whose demands are almost identical with those raised last November, Juniku said and specified that the latest protests were a continuation of the November ones.

Juniku in conclusion underscored that the LC of Kosovo would persevere in carrying out the tasks set by the 17th LCY Central Committee session in determining responsibility for the situation in the province.

Further Debate Outlined

LD1102230489 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2005 GMT 11 Feb 89

[Text] Pristina, February 11 (TANJUG)—League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Presidency member Radisa Gacic today urged that the initiators and organizers of last November's massive demonstrations by ethnic Albanians in Pristina, capital of the autonomous province of Kosovo, be named and that legal as well as political sanctions be taken against them.

Speaking at a plenum of the Kosovo League of Communists (LC), Gacic said that strong political and legal measures must be implemented against the organizers of the demonstrations, regardless of their previous work, merit or social position. These measures should be implemented immediately, and a cadre renewal should take place not only in the provincial committee, but in the communal party committees of Kosovo as well, he said.

At the debate of the Kosovo party plenum which is to take a stand on the character and nature of last year's demonstrations by ethnic Albanians in Pristina, a strong polarization is taking place over the question of what the actual goals of the demonstrators were and whether they were being manipulated by anyone.

Radisa Gacic called for an end to the nationality-based divisions in Kosovo, which he said sow fear and insecurity among Serbs and Montenegrins but, at the same time, do not leave ethnic Albanians (majority population in the province) unperturbed. Gacic said that the adoption of amendments to the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia, which Serbia's province of Kosovo has opposed so far, was very important for the stabilization of the situation in the province, In that context, Gacic underscored that it was essential that the respective changes in Serbia's Constitution be accepted by the ethnic Albanians with a feeling that they were not imposed on them.

LC of Serbia Presidency Secretary Zoran Sokolovic said that the proposed changes to Serbia's constitution did not undermine either the autonomy of the provinces or the equality of the nations and nationalities which live in them. He set out that the recent changes in the Kosovo Provincial Committee (Rahman Morina, former provincial secretary for internal affairs, was elected provincial committee president) and the beginning made in determining the responsibility of individual Kosovo officials created the necessary conditions for action to normalize the situation in the province.

Sokolovic set out that the unity of the Serbian and Kosovo leaderships was in the interest of ethnic Albanians, Serbs and Montenegrins and all others who live in the province. "It is in the interest of Serbia and Kosovo, but it is also a condition for the stability of Yugoslavia," Sokolovic observed.

Sokolovic also assessed that multi-national Kosovo was now passing through its most difficult period since the counter-revolutionary demonstrations by Albanian separatists in 1981. He assessed the separatist forces as being strong and well-organized and active "both illegally and legally", and said they wished to split the League of Communists and to push it to the periphery of political life.

Judging by the course of the debate at the Kosovo party plenum, many members of the provisional committee who are ethnic Albanians view the situation in Kosovo and the causes and nature of the November demonstrations by ethnic Albanians in a somewhat different light and oppose some of the stands proposed by the Kosovo party Presidency. Among other things, it was stated that the November demonstrations have neither an anti-Serbian nor an anti-Yugoslav character, that their causes should be sought in the difficult economic situation, and that they came in reaction to the meetings of solidarity of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo, in Serbia and Montenegro.

Hisen Godanci asked that the same standards be applied in assessing the gatherings of Serbs and Montenegrins. He said that no struggle was being waged (?against Serbian) nationalism. Ejup Gashi criticized Serbian party leader Slobodan Milosevic for not responding to calls by workers who have been on strike in many Kosovo enterprises in the past few days, to come among them.

Kosovo Presidency President Remzi Kolgeci called for a "more subtle" analysis of the November events in Pristina. He said that ethnic Albanians had taken to the streets "in response to the wide-spread anti-Albanian feelings and the revanchist tendencies that strive to impose collective guilt on the entire Albanian nationality" for the situation in Kosovo.

Kolgeci assessed as incorrect the claim that "Albanians were misled and manipulated" during the debate on the changes of the Constitution of Serbia and during the November protest rallies. He also spoke against the creation of myths about Kosovo, both on the part of Serbs and Albanians, and said that Kosovo belonged to all those who lived there.

Members of the Kosovo Provincial Committee of Serbian, Montenegrin and other nationalities, and some ethnic Albanians, support the proposed stands of the Kosovo party presidency. "No-one blames the ethnic Albanian people or the working class for what happened, but the organizers must be named", said Milan Stojacetovic. Jusuf Karakushi, Kosovo's deputy secretary of the interior, was against comparing the demonstrations by ethnic Albanians with Serbian meetings, because their motives and demands were different.

Dobroslav Radovic said he believed there was no need to be wary of and to fear the initiatives that come from Serbia, while Agim Mala assessed that the recently renewed membership of the Kosovo party presidency enjoys the support of the Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins, but that this support should also come from ethnic Albanians.

After a twelve-hour debate, the provincial committee this evening empowered its Presidency to determine the final text of the conclusions and send it to the provincial committee and the membership of the League of Communists of the province of Kosovo.

Hasani Warns of Protests

LD1102231389 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2223 GMT 11 Feb 89

[Text] Pristina, February 11 (TANJUG)—At a plenum of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists (LC) of Kosovo, Yugoslav State Presidency member Sinan Hasani this evening appealed for the adoption of the assessments of last year's mass demonstrations by ethnic Albanians, made by the recently renewed Kosovo party presidency.

Hasani agreed with the demand that the organizers and instigators of the gatherings be named, but said they should only be called to account politically and that legal charges should not be pressed. He assessed that the majority of demonstrators were Yugoslav-oriented, and were not under the influence of Albanian nationalism and separatism but, nevertheless, noted that this influence "must not be underestimated."

At a time when protest gatherings and strikes by ethnic Albanians are again taking place in Kosovo, the League of Communists of Kosovo and its leadership cannot evade responsibility for the serious situation in the province, Hasani said. He said the demonstrators' persistent stand against the changes of the present Yugoslav Constitution, which are supported by the entire country, were the result of the Albanian population being insufficiently informed and the poor work of the party.

He suggested that the controversial issues concerning the constitutional changes in Serbia which have not yet been coordinated between the Republic of Serbia and its Province of Kosovo, be postponed for the time when a new Yugoslav Constitution is being passed in order to avoid a further intensification of the conflicts.

Session Concludes

LD1102224189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2159 GT 11 Feb 89

[Text] Pristina, 11 Feb (TANJUG)—In Pristina this evening, the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee session, which lasted for 14 hours, ended. The 5-day long mass protest gatherings and demonstrations by citizens of the Albanian nationality were discussed at the session. More than 50 participants in the discussion attempted to supplement the proposed assessments and stances on these events, and individuals tried to change the essential formulations in that document. Finally, it was concluded that the Provincial Committee Presidium should be authorized to draw up—based on suggestions—the overall discussion, and Rahman Morina's closing speech, the final assessments and stances on the protest gatherings and demonstrations by Albanians, and to inform the Provincial Committee and the party members of these.

The Kosovo LC Provincial Committee also established a list of five candidates for membership to the LCY Central Committee from Kosovo. They are: Ali Buza, Skender Ramadani, Ljubomir Radovic, Jusuf Zejnulahu, and Limam Matosi. The LCY Central Committee should elect four members. At the session, it was established that the candidates for members of the LCY Central Committee Presidium from the Kosovo LC should be Enver Djerdjeku and Skender Ramadani.

Albanians Continue Protests, Strikes in Kosovo

LD0902235189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2222 GMT 9 Feb 89

[Text] Pristina, February 9 (TANJUG)—Ethnic Albanians continue protests and strikes in Yugoslavia's Kosovo Province today.

The situation in the province is hovering between a calm and more protests, which started a week ago at the Trepca mines.

Numerous party and other gatherings throughout the province voiced support to the new Kosovo leadership and appealed for an end to the protest gatherings.

However, ethnic Albanians expressed dissatisfaction at some strikes today, demanding the resignation of the newly-elected leadership and especially the provincial and Pristina party chiefs Rahman Morina and Husamedin Azemi.

Today's strikes applauded every negative mention of Serbian party chief Slobodan Milosevic.

The gatherings rejected the 20th League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee session's assessments that the November demonstrations in Kosovo were anti-Serbian and anti-Yugoslav. They also refused to accept the proposed changes in Serbia's republican Constitution which would secure the republic state prerogatives in both of its provinces, Vojvodina and Kosovo.

The strikers also expressed dissatisfaction over the dismissals of Kosovo party officials responsible, in the opinion of the LCY leadership, for the difficult situation in this province.

Kosovo's trade union leadership warned that the political situation in the province was serious and could further deteriorate because of the strikes today.

Many Kosovo party organisations voiced support for the stand of the new party leadership and warned that the gatherings were harmful.

The protest gatherings received support from the Albanology Institute in Pristina. The workers of the institute voiced support for the strikers' demands to preserve Kosovo's present constitutional position and their struggle to root out anti-Albanian feelings in Yugoslavia.

'Unlawful' Meetings Held Over Kosovo Strikes

LD1002160989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1452 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Text] Pristina, 10 Feb (TANJUG)—Widespread political activity is under way today in many municipal organizations of the LC, work organizations, and local communities throughout Kosovo in connection with the latest protest meetings and work stoppages by workers of Albanian nationality. The intention is to stop unlawful nationalist meetings, which were held even today in a number of collectives, and which to a large extent complicate the political situation in the province. During all legal meetings, support is given to the assertive course of the new party leadership in Kosovo. However, increasingly prominent opposition by individuals and groups toward the conclusions and decisions of top party and state organs for stabilizing the situation in the province is rising to the surface.

'Complete Interethnic Split' in Kosovo Viewed

AU1002191489 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Feb 89 p 1

[Milos Antic commentary: "Where Is Yugoslavia in Kosovo?"]

[Text] Do Yugoslavia and the people who lead it realize that what has been happening in Kosovo in recent days has caused a complete interethnic split? It has created such a rift in relations among members of different nationalities that those in a minority are afraid not of what will happen tomorrow, but how today will end.

The Kosovo drama has once again begun to boil. The November events and demands are being repeated, only in a different and more acute form, and not on the streets.

A "Trepca" miner in Stari Trg said clearly and concisely: "I have three sons and numerous close relatives. I would give them all up in order to prevent the 1974 Constitution from being changed." He received frenetic applause as a sign of support! A not inconsiderable number of workers are demanding "that some conclusions of the 17th and 20th sessions be revised, and the decisions of the Provincial Committee on the accountability of Azem Vlasi be overturned." This is another demand that is enjoying widespread support.

The wave of protest meetings and work stoppages by workers of Albanian nationality is continuing. They will obviously persist. A formula has already been found for such a thing. Many people "butted in," and in the first 2 days offered support to the Stari Trg miners, but they built the chance for new protests into the demand that "we will meet tomorrow or the day after tomorrow when Stipe Suvar, Slobodan Milosevic, Rahman Morina, and Ali Sukrija come to see us." Absolutely everyone is demanding this, although they know that this is physically impossible.

Only when one goes to the larger collectives, which are nationally mixed, can it be seen what kind of atmosphere prevails in interethnic relations. Even outside factory circles, one can sense the divisions and the general tension. A worker of Serbian nationality from Urosevac announced: "We have been driven into a corner. We do not dare open our mouths because we do not know what could happen to us...." Physically, no one treats them badly, but worse than that, the same worker told us: "is when you see that a fellow worker in the same shift is looking at you with dislike in his eyes, when you see that they are whispering in groups and you do not know what about, when you think about whether to come to work tomorrow or not, when you simply do not know what will really happen, because all sorts of statements are heard."

Who will pay for all this? Who has the aim of making the already poor workers class in this part of the country even more impoverished and dissatisfied?

All this has been happening immediately after the 20th session of the LCY Central Committee and before the Provincial Committee session scheduled for Monday, 13 February [since changed to 11 February], which should completely clear up the question of responsibility and make an assessment of the November protests and demonstrations by Albanians. This assessment could possibly be backed up by the names of the organizers and instigators of these events.

The ideologists behind all this have one aim, at least at the moment: to stop the publication of the list of organizers and initiators of the November protests and demonstrations because they know that they themselves will be on it. The workers do not, of course, know this. The ideologists are spreading demagoguery so that those who displayed vagueness for years by using their positions can be protected.

The newly elected leadership is resolute at the moment. It has announced that it will work on the consistent implementation of the conclusions of the 17th session of the LCY Central Committee and the conclusions of the 20th session of the LCY Central Committee, that it will completely clear up the question of responsibility in the Provincial Committee and its Presidium, and that it will give a clear and precise assessment of the November protests and demonstrations by Albanians. Activity was begun today in LC basic organizations and the action and district LC conferences in all communities.

It seems that there can no longer be any compromises.

The Kosovo LC will need help in these and many other tasks, both from the maternal republic of Serbia and from all parts of the country, but especially from the federal leadership. This is because if it is being said loud and clear in the last few days that Yugoslavia is undergoing a test in Kosovo, then Yugoslavia must definitely be much more obvious in actions in Kosovo as opposed to talk and verbal support only. Not one single Kosovo fire has been put out by talk and conclusions. This one will not be, either.

Workers Back Kosovo Internal Affairs Secretariat

LD1002173189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1531 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Text] Pristina, 10 Feb (TANJUG)—Communists of the provincial secretariat for internal affairs noted at a meeting of the LC action conference and at meetings of the LC basic organizations held in security centers and in departments of public security that the political and security situation in Kosovo is very complex and is worsening. Attention was drawn to the need for maximum involvement by every worker of the internal affairs' organs, in particular every member of the LCY.

In discussions, assessments, and conclusions at all meetings, unanimous support was announced to have been given to the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee (PC), its Presidium, and the measures it is taking or announcing in order to halt negative tendencies and for undertaking those activities which lead toward a way out of the crisis.

Special support was given to the action program of the Kosovo LC PC, and to the speech by Rahman Morina, president of the Kosovo LC PC Presidium, to the miners in the Stari Trg mine.

The Communists of the Kosovo Secretariat for Internal Affairs firmly adhere to these stands and advocate such relations in their ranks which will ensure total unity. They will also take such measures that will enable all members of the internal affairs' organs to carry out successful activity as a stabilizing factor, thus contributing to the successful realization of the LCY policy, it is stressed in the communique.

Kosovo Official Addresses Strategy of Separatists

LD1002221489 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1846 GMT 10 feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 10 (TANJUG)—In understanding and explaining the Kosovo drama one should always start from the fact that what is involved is a long-term and well-planned strategy of Albanian separatists and nationalists who have clear and well-known goals—the breaking up of Yugoslavia—President of the Provincial Assembly of Kosovo Vukasin Jokanovic has stated to the Belgrade weekly "NIN".

It is therefore necessary to thwart the counter-revolution in Kosovo, encourage progressive forces in the ranks of all nations and nationalities, primarily the Albanian nationality, living in the Yugoslav province of Kosovo, Jokanovic stressed.

Jokanovic considers that in order to calm the situation in Kosovo where members of the Albanian nationality make up the majority population it is necessary to achieve full equality of nations and nationalities and a long-term integration of the Albanian nationality in Yugoslavia, including its equal national and cultural affirmation.

Nationalist and separatist forces want to push the Albanian nationality into a confrontation with the Serbian people, and hence with other Yugoslav peoples, too, Jokanovic said. The reasons for the mass migrations of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo are also in the process of the separation of the province from the Republic of Serbia, to which the Yugoslav Constitution adopted in 1974 has also contributed, Jokanovic recalled.

Jokanovic recalls that Serbia's principal demand that under the new constitution it finally gains equal rights with the other Yugoslav republics, enabling it to expand its inferences to its two provinces, is viewed differently in Kosovo. While Serbs and Montenegrins see the pending changes as the salvation and solution and for whom this is the question of staying or going, the Albanian nationality members experience them as the violation of their equality.

To the fear of not a small number of Albanian nationality members of the pending constitutional changes, because of which last November over one hundred thousand Albanians demonstrated, with demonstrations underway these days, too, the nationalist hostile propaganda has contributed, Jokanovic said. He added to this the manipulation that the constitutional changes will even result in the abolishment of the province and that many Albanians are victims of this manipulation.

Jokanovic stressed the conviction that the Provincial Assembly of Kosovo will give its agreement to the changes of the republican Constitution of Serbia. He stressed that he would not agree as a man and as a communist to constitutional changes which would place into unequal position any nation or nationality. Anyway, the League of Communists of Serbia would never allow this, he added.

Serbia's Gracanin Attacks Multiparty System

LD1102111989 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0120 GMT 11 Feb 89

[Text] Kovin, Feb 10 (TANJUG)—Serbian Presidency President Petar Gracanin said today that the programs of the various associations, societies and groups of citizens being founded in some parts of Yugoslavia "bear resemblance to programs of political parties opposed to the League of Communists."

In talks with the political leadership of Kovin, Province of Vojvodina, Gracanin explicitly made it known that such forms of organisation will not receive support in Serbia.

"By orienting ourselves clearly against a multi-party system, we want to curb such goals of new forms of organization," Gracanin emphasized.

He added, however, that there exists in Serbia a wish for the creation of conditions for a more flexible attitude towards citizens' demands for expressing their different self-management interests "on the broadest socialist platform."

The economic, political and security situation in Serbia and Yugoslavia is difficult but not unsolvable, Gracanin said.

The Republic of Serbia is contributing fully to the creation of conditions for overcoming the difficult economic situation with among other things, its proposals for a reform of the economic system, he added.

Gracanin underlined that the Serbian leadership always brought into connection the settlement of the most varied questions in the republic with the realization of greater unity in Yugoslavia, noting that actions should always proceed from these links, of which there are many in various fields of life in Yugoslavia.

Serbian Internal Affairs Office Drops Charges

LD0802172989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1524 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 8 Feb (TANJUG)—Acting at the request of the district public prosecutor's office, the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs of Serbia has examined criminal charges and established that it had no constitutional or legal power to verify and gather evidence against accused persons—former federal officials of Kosovo who are permanently settled within the territory of this province.

This is stressed in today's statement of the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs in connection with the criminal charges which, as is known, were instituted the year before last in Belgrade against Fadilj Hodza, Dzavid Nimani, Veli Deva, Ismajil Bajra, and Mahmut Bakali for the most serious acts against the foudations of the socialist self-managing social system and the security of the SFRY. [passage omitted]

Serbian Initiatives Launched for New Holidays

AU0802174889 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28-29 Jan 89 p 13

[V.N. Dzafo report: "When the Saints Go Marching In"]

[Text] The administrative office of the Serbian Writers Association is proposing to the responsible educational and cultural institutions that Saint Sava Day be returned to schools and again be celebrated as Schools Day. About 2,000 workers of the Trstenik "Prva Petoletka" work organization added to their list of demands made at their protest meeting, which included changes in the award system, a reduction in the administration, a 150 percent increase in incomes, and the replacement of the director general, two other proposals: that the calendar of republican holidays also include 7 January, the Orthodox Christmas, and the 14th January, and that the start of the new year be according to the old calendar, which should, as is proposed, be celebrated as Serbian Day. There is also an initiative from the Cetinje SAWP Communal Conference Presidium for Christmas Eve to be proclaimed as the national holiday of Montenegro.

Apart from the fact that these calls for at least a partial return to the "sharing of the same bed" by the church and the state could possibly anticipate similar and more numerous demands in the days to follow, they could be intermittently proceeded by some—to begin with—subsidiary questions, accompanied of course by respect for a national and religious orientation and everything that goes with it.

If the debate in the SAWPY Federal Conference over whether or not it is wise for religious leaders to address their congregations on their holidays with greetings and nice words, and if it flexibly and quite inarticulately opted, or not, for the assessments that such a thing is not unusual—could the same question be asked for these newly launched initiatives—Will schools outside Serbia also celebrate School Day, especially as each school would have chosen its man, its saint, by itself, and depending on its community, history, and national affinity? Will Saint Sava be accepted for School Day by those pupils in Belgrade, for example, whose national orientation does not have to communicate—except from the viewpoint of civilization and knowledge—with Sava, who was not even the founder of their national consciousness?

Could someone from the "Prva Petoletka" neighborhood request for the same reason of "strengthening" the religious reasons for national divisions that the Catholic Christmas, Ramadan, or something else, for example, be written into the calendar of republican holidays and made official? Or could they request that Croatian Day or Muslim Day, for example, also be rightfully celebrated? Could, then, the demands of the "Prva Petoletka" (which the head of the factory's trade union described as unacceptable), apart from bringing a Christmas Eve of family tranquility in peace, also bring a return to reawakened religious and church customs, and bring tranquility to "Prva Petoletka's" stagnant production, or could they reconcile a call for a 150 percent pay rise with the demand that we celebrate Serbian day? Or why, if it is being requested from Cetinje and Trstenik that we (officially) make Christmas Eve an official holiday, is this not being sought generally and everywhere? Does this mean then that Serbs would only have the right to officially celebrate Christmas Eve only in Montenegro and Serbia? It could be said that they live throughout our homeland. Or would they travel for this holiday into these two communities where, for example, the right is written down in the calendar in black and white, without having to be up at midnight to wish each other the appropriate compliments for the invented season?

Unfortunately, in these serious times, worn out by all sorts of divisions into which national divisions have been pushed zealously and to a much greater extent than is bearable, no one has remembered to fold up a paper and sign an initiative for seeking the festive marking of a better "day for all of us."

Belgrade LC Committee Meets on Ideological Work

LD0902192789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1428 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 7 Feb (TANJUG)—The time lost by Yugoslav society in seeking a turnaround must now be made up for by changes which cannot be exhausted merely by the concept of the three reforms. Any economic, political, and cultural program to facilitate the realization of our fundamental orientation toward a society free from exploitation and degradation is acceptable, though it is questionable whether the reforms are a sufficient social and intellectual area for such programs.

This is the main point in the introductory report by Dr Mirjana Markovic [wife of Slobodan Milosevic] at today's session of the Commission of the Belgrade LC Municipal Committee for Ideological and Theoretical Work, and it was agreed with, in the discussion on the ideopolitical aspects of the social reforms, by almost all the participants in the debate. Nor were there many dilemmas over the identification of the key obstacles to the necessary reforms.

Dr Markovic thinks most of these obstacles manifest themselves in efforts to act in a backward manner and return present-day Yugoslav society to previous forms of organizational methods—back to some kind of bourgeois society or earlier variant of socialism. Indeed, it is not a matter of ideology, but of interest-based demands for the existing state of affairs to be maintained in every respect.

Dr Markovic particularly emphasized the question of pluralism, which, without sufficient scientific analysis, has been imposing itself as something about which all of Yugoslavia should make its views known. As the basis of this future policy, there is confusion about whether pluralism relates to a multitude of ideas, concepts, ownership types, organizations, interests and policies, or of ideologies. In addition to this, Markovic pointed out, some kinds of pluralism express aggressiveness toward ideas and people wih whom they do not agree. This merely shows that the idea of pluralism in some situations was a way of introducing undemocratic notions into social and political life.

Markovic also pointed out that some environments which aspire toward more radical changes are reproached for abandoning Tito's road, as if the personality, contribution, and accomplishments of Tito are preserved and defended by the frequent mentioning of his name in public statements by politicians. And when it is a matter of the thesis that the people are in the street, Dr Markovic observed that there is no point in appealing to the "procedural rules of the game," because they have been compromised and no one wants them any longer. Herein lies the disagreement between procedure and the antibureaucratic revolution. Procedure has still not yet won a single such disagreement, at least not in the last resort, Mirjana Markovic concluded. [passage omitted]

Vojvodina SAWP Elects New Presidium Members

LD0902205789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1052 GMT 9 Feb 89

[Excerpts] Novi Sad, 9 Feb (TANJUG)—At the center of attention of today's session of the Vojvodina SAWP Provincial Committee is the program of activities of the Vojvodina SAWP for this year, the election of a new Presidium of the Vojvodina SAWP Provincial Committee, and the establishment of candidates for election to become four new members of the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province [SAP] of Vojvodina.

At this political meeting, which is being attended by 145 delegates, as well as the presidents of all the Vojvodina SAWP municipal organizaitons, the introductory report was submitted by the coordinator of the Working Group of the Vojvodina SAWP Provincial Committee, which is carrying out the functions of the Presidium—Dr Zoran Stojanovic. [passage omitted] [Transmission interrupted; TANJUG part 4 not received]

The Vojvodina SAWP Provincial Committee, in a secret ballot, elected members of the Vojvodina SAWP Provincial Committee Presidium out of 28 proposed candidates. The following were elected as members of the Vojvodina SAWP Provincial Committee Presidium: Delija Balos, Petar Boronjac, Dragica Djordjevic, Iles Fistes, Nikola Grubor, Petar Horvat, Savo Ivancevic, Djine Knezevic, Vojislav Marjanov, Mihajlo Olujic, Radovan Pankov, Miroslav Pesic, Ondrej Petras, Zoltan Sabo, Gordana Stamenkovic, Dragan Slijepcevic, Tripo Scepanovic, Dusan Tomic, Milan Vukovic, and Aurel Zarija.

Ruzica Lukic was elected in a secret ballot as president of the Conference for the the Social Position and Activity of Women of Vojvodina.

At the first session of the newly elected Presidium of the Vojvodina SAWP Provincial Committee, Savo Ivancevic, who has a master's degree in agricultural science and has previously been the president of the Executive Council of the Zitiste Municipal Assembly, was elected as President of the Presidium. Dusan Tomic, a political scientist from Rusko Selo, near Kikinda, was elected secretary of the Presidium of the Vojvodina SAWP Provincial Committee.

The Vojvodina SAWP Provincial Committee accepted the list of eight proposed candidates for the additional election of four members of the Presidency of the SAP of Vojvodina. The candidates for membership of the Presidency of the SAP of Vojvodina are: Pavel Djendur, Jugoslav Kostic, Janos Mesaros, Simeon Ramac, Obrad Jelic, Djorde Scepancevic, Aleksandar Vasic-Capajev, and Tomislav Vojvodic. This list of candidates will be submitted to the Vojvodina Assembly, which will elect four of them as members of the Presidency of the SAP of Vojvodina.

Vojvodina Conference Cited as Example for LCY

AU1002093189 Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Jan 89 p 2

[Br. Miletic commentary: "Changing Oneself and Society"]

[Text] Last week was tempestuous, but this one could even exceed it, primarily in what is happening within the LCY, but in the political temperature in society as well. According to a certain "timetable," January should have been the month of the beginning of the economic reform and gradual preparations for two other reforms: of the political system and of the LCY. However, life has imposed a somewhat different order, accelerated some processes, and confronted all forces of society with tasks which must not be delayed.

We know that until some time ago, whenever an extraordinary congress, conference, or any high-level session was as much as mentioned, many people were shocked because they could not believe that the situation was so alarming that one had to interfere with the regular flow of party or other social life. For some time, however, this has no longer been the case. We have not only been getting used to the sound of these words that not so long ago used to be "heretical," but for the first time in recent history, we have also witnessed extraordinary LCY meetings—meetings at all levels, ranging from basic LC organizations to top party bodies of republics and provinces, and probably soon at the LCY level as well.

The world is asking what is happening to Yugoslavia and its Communist Party, and it has started following events in the country of self-managing socialism more carefully. Will all this end well, working people and citizens ask, and are worried about socialism, the fate of Yugoslavia, and their own future. The answers provided by the LCY are such that they can both encourage and confuse; they give hope that the denouement has finally begun, but also say that the danger looming over the unity of the vanguard is growing and threatening to destroy the unity of Yugoslavia as a state community.

The situation in many communities has been fermenting since last summer. The people have been replacing state, party, and trade union leaderships. More and more often, workers are getting higher wages in assembly halls, in squares, and streets. Some officials are quarreling, bickering, and pushing our peoples and nationalities into mutual disagreements, while Yugoslavia's open wounds, the counterrevolution in Kosovo, and the economic crisis are deepening and becoming more and more difficult to cure.

Only when the whole list of troubles is made and put under a magnifying glass does it become clear that the LCY is still the only light which can help to discern (and eliminate) these evils. Of course, that can only be a reformed LCY, with new cadres, and enabled to come to grips with problems and to be up to the historic task it is facing, just as it did in the crucial moments for the country and the revolution.

When viewed from that angle, the wave of changes that the party has begun will have to bring what the broadest people's masses and grassroots have been asking for for a long time—the way out of the crisis. While reforming itself, the LCY is in fact beginning to implement the messages of its first conference and the (now less and less famous) 17th session of the Central Committee. At some extraordinary sessions and even more so in the events after them, one can already see that things will not go smoothly. However, the party has no choice. It must change itself and the situation in society, or....

The example of the Vojvodina Communists is edifying in this respect. By holding an extraordinary conference and adopting the firm stance that the old practice and wrong policy should definitely be stopped, they have checked the avalanche of demands for changes and of the justified anger of working people and citizens which had accumulated for months. They have embarked on all three reforms by carrying out radical cadre changes. With its initiative on holding an extraordinary LCY congress and on denying confidence to the LCY Central Committee Presidium and particularly to its head, Dr Stipe Suvar, the extraordinary conference of the Vojvodina LC will be written down in history as the beginning of a new era and will mean the final admission that disunity has long been smoldering in the LCY.

The 20th Plenum of the LCY Central Committee will probably provide answers to these dilemmas. The announced agenda—the political situation in the country, relations in the LCY, and the work and responsibility of the Central Committee and its Presidium, that is to say, the fact that the "situation is complex" and that there is a demand that all forces embark upon "resolute and urgent action" because everybody is responsible for the present situation—implies that the LC should be the standard bearer on the road of changes.

Croatian Plenum Scheduled for 16 Feb

LD1002155789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1051 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Text] Zagreb, 10 Feb (TANJUG)—The next 24th plenary session of the Croatian LC Central Committee will be held on Thursday, 16 February, it was announced today. Members of the Central Committee, in keeping with the conclusion on cadre renewal, will carry out the election of candidates for new members of the LCY Central Committee from the Croatian LC. From a list of 12, the Croatian LC Central Committee will elect by secret ballot, 6 of the candidates as new members of the LCY Central Committee.

At the same session of the Croatian LC Central Committee, the results of the public debate on the changes to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Croatia will be reviewed, and guidelines will be established for the action of LC members in transforming the SAWP.

Croatian Voters Choose Presidency Candidates

LD1102214389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1242 GMT 11 Feb 89

[Summary] Zagreb, 11 Feb (TANJUG)—The procedure for deciding on candidates for membership of the SFRY Presidency has been carried out in 114 Croatian municipalities. The delegates of the municipal candidacy conferences have decided by secret voting on a list of 10 candidates for this most responsible post in the country.

Of 8,344 delegates of municipal candidacy conferences, 5,923 have voted. The necessary number of votes from those present—that is more than 30 percent—was gained by 9 candidates who will continue the electoral procedure.

A majority of votes in almost all the municipal candidacy conferences of the Croatian SWAP was gained by Dr Stipe Suvar; then Ante Markovic; followed by Andjelko Runjic; Zvonimir Hrabar; Branko Horvat; Tomislav Badovinac; Velimir Srica; Ivica Mastruko; Zvonko Erak; and finally Dusko Kalodjera. The election of candidates for the top state organ in the country is arousing great public interest, both because of the tasks and the role of the SFRY Presidency, and because it will be headed from 1991-92 by a candidate from the SR of Croatia.

The list of nine of these candidates—all those in the preceding list except Dusko Kalodjera who did not receive the necessary number of votes—will be voted on at the republican candidacy conference on 14 February. All those who gain more than 50 percent of the votes of the delegates present will be regarded as established candidates whose names will be sent to the SAWPY Federal Conference for the continuation of the procedure. It has been learned that Ivica Mastruko has withdrawn from candidacy.

Bosnia-Hercegovina Supports Markovic Program

LD1002230289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1907 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Text] Sarajevo, Feb 10 (TANJUG)—Ante Markovic, premier-designate of the new Yugoslav Government to be inaugurated in March, and his recently presented programme, today were fully backed up by the topmost organs and political organizations of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The stay of Premier-designate Markovic in Bosnia-Hercegovina is associated with his consultations about the prospective members of his government. Markovic assessed that the depth of Yugoslav crisis is so great that transformation cannot bypass any part of society. At this point he stressed that one should have no delusions that overnight changes were possible, but one should not be disheartened either. For, although the space is narrowed down for manoeuvres, the necessary transformations can be performed.

The top leaders of Bosnia-Hercegovina, following the line of Markovic's programme have presented the possible solutions for their republic's exit from stagnation.

They reiterated their demand that the federal measures for the consolidation of the economy, which are being applied to Yugoslavia's least developed republics of Montenegro and Macedonia and Kosovo Province, should also be applied to Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Because of the difficult economic and social situation in this republic, last year's over 300 strikes included 97,000 strikers.

This year, 9,000 workers expressed their dissatisfaction in (?new) work stoppages.

Residovic Reelected Bosnian SAWP President

AU1002132489 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Feb 89 p 19

[M. Duric report: "If We Continue Like This, the People Will Go Out Onto the Streets"]

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, 3 Feb—Today's electoral session of the Bosnia-Hercegovina SAWP Republican Conference was devoted above all to the program of work of the SAWP. As Amasa Lazar-Kajtaz stressed in the introductory speech, the proposed action is distinct from previous ones. The SAWP must be concerned with life's issues. [passage omitted]

Edina Residovic, President of the Bosnia-Hercegovina SAWP Republican Conference

In a secret ballot, Edina Residovic was elected president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina SAWP Republican Conference for the next term of office. She has held this post for the past year. Edina Residovic received 135 votes out of 173. The other two candidates were Ljubo Aralica who received 20 votes and Husein Bakalovic who received 17 votes. [passage omitted]

Macedonian SAWP Discusses Press Attacks

AU1002165389 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Text] Our correspondent Boris Djordjiovski reports from Skopje on the session of the Section for Information of the SAWP Republican Conference. The subject of the discussion was public information and the current sociopolitical situation in the republic.

[Begin Djordjiovski recording] The papers prepared for the session, and (Cvetko Cvetkovski) in his opening speech, addressed rather generalized reproaches to some information media in our country. Their journalists, muckrakers, as he put it, exploit the present grave economic situation in Macedonia and numerous other misfortunes that face Macedonia in order to attain their aims.

These aims could be reduced to the attempt to stabilize Macedonia. In their demands recently, the subjective question is persistently posed whether the Macedonian government should be changed. According to (Cvetkovski), reading between the lines this means that the Macedonian leadership should change through the application of prohibited and unacceptable methods. He said that a scenario exists that leaves nothing to chance, envisaging meetings, protests, and the creation of an atmosphere like in some other Yugoslav communities, and that one knows when the republican government will fall, which leader will stay on according to these plans, who will be in the organizational committee, and what banners will be carried at meetings and protests.

The majority of those taking part in the discussion did not agree with these assessments. (Erol Rizdav) said that one cannot blame the Yugoslav press for the situation and misfortunes in Macedonia, and at the same time say that Macedonia is virtually blameless. It appears as if everybody is against Macedonia.

(Emil Sali) said that the Yugoslav press in fact had led the way in uncovering negative occurrences in the republic, which were only later reported locally. One cannot attack the information media in general, but it is a fact that nobody has the right to bring peoples to confrontation, as is being attempted in the present situation, (Emil Sali) said.

Macedonian Youth Refuses Comment on Candidates

LD0902225589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1738 GMT 9 Feb 89

[Excerpts] Skopje, 9 Feb (TANJUG)—The Macedonian Socialist Youth Federation's Republican Conference Presidium did not state its views about the list of proposed candidates for membership to the SFRY Presidency from Macedonia at the session today. Presidium members think that the entire procedure was not conducted according to criteria. At the session it was stated that a criterion was not fulfilled, which envisages that for all candidates, in addition to biographies, a wider asessment of their previous work and achievements in office should be available. For this reason, Presidium members did not state their views about any candidate on the list. They proposed that the procedure be returned to the point at which the list of 104 candidates was narrowed down to 4. [passage omitted]

The list of candidates proposed by the Macedonian SAWP Republican Conference was accepted by all socio-political organizations in municipalities and the Macedonian SUBNOR [Federation of National Liberation War Veterans Association] Presidium. The republican conference will summarize the public discussion that has taken place about the proposed candidates at the session convened for 17 February.

Slovenian Candidates for Presidency Named

Vasle Accepts Nomination

LD1002155389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1329 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 10 Feb (TANJUG)—Vinko Vasle is the sixth candidate for membership of the SFRY Presidency from Slovenia, and voting will be carried out in the next few days by delegates at basic nomination conferences in the republic.

Vinko Vasle accepted participation in the nomination procedure and then, a few days ago, he withdrew. Today he has withdrawn his statement of withdrawal, allegedly at the request of his "electoral headquarters" (members are: Mojca Drcar-Murko, Manca Kosir, Slava Partlic, Sreco Zajc, and Slavoj Zizek), who stress that "the program of Vinko Vasle reflects the ideas and aspirations of a large part of the democratic public, which means that this is in fact its program, which he cannot and does not want to renounce."

Other Candidates Announced

AU1102165089 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 11 Feb 89

[Text] The campaign for the election of a new SFRY Presidency member has begun in Slovenia. The list of nominees includes banking expert Joze Drnovsek, scientist Tomaz Kalin, sociologist Vojko Stanic, and journalist Vinko Vasle; Marko Bulc, current president of the Economic Chamber of Slovenia; and Dusan Sinigoj, president of the Republican Executive Council. All of them, with the exception of Sinigoj who is currently ill, presented themselves to the public last night and presented programs for their engagement in the highest state organ. Relja Atanasijevic reports:

Although all the Slovene candidates declared themselves in favor of economic, political, and social-legal stabilization and democratization of Yugoslavia, as well as its joining Europe, each of them presented some personal and professional views on work in the state Presidency.

A curiosity of its own kind is the move by journalist Vasle, who first renounced his nomination but then again joined the election game and set up his own propaganda staff, supporting among other things a free formation of interest rates.

Banker Drnovsek gives priority to the establishment of convertible dinars, the reduction of Yugoslav debts in various ways, as well as a separation of politics from money.

Marko Bulc was most specific and most substantive. According to him, the SFRY Presidency should head the activities concerning economic stabilization, the reduction of inflation and of federal spending, democratization and civilized relations in the country, the development of the state, and the respect for the sovereignty of our peoples.

He supported full respect for the laws on the marketing of goods, money, and labor. He expressed his view that it should be ensured that at least half of the economy will be restructured, and he remarked that industry will need only professional and highly skilled labor. Of course, technological and other surpluses of labor will appear. Remarking that the unemployed are a burden to themselves and to society, Bulc said that the door should be opened for them in tourism, services, and various tertiary activities, especially small businesses.

Gojko Stanic remarked that the ruling officials have no idea of what structural projects mean, and Marko Bulc added: The SFRY Presidency must know what it supports and must not hinder, as it used to.

Supporting the program outlined by Premier-designate Ante Markovic, Marko Bulc advocated measures to be taken so that our system will become compatible with Europe. This means that world technical and technological standards, patents, and cadre training methods are needed. These are the conditions needed for partnerships among firms.

The decision as to who will be the Slovene candidate to be the SFRY Presidency member will be made in the middle of April. It has been announced that the candidates will make further public appearances before then.

Slovene SAWP Favors Political Pluralism

AU0902160789 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Feb 89 p 18

[Z. Ljubibratovic report: "Document Adopted on Introducing Political Pluralism in the Work of SAWP"]

[Text] Ljubljana 31 Jan—The main characteristic of a document adopted today at the session of the Slovene SAWP presidium is the introduction of political pluralism in the work of the socialist alliance.

According to the conclusion reached today, this document—which was supplemented by suggestions made during today's discussion, suggestions that will be formulated and entered in the text of the document by the executive council of the Slovene SAWP—will shortly be submitted for public discussion.

The public discussion should shed light on the main points concerning the introduction of political pluralism and the most urgent reorganization of the socialist alliance which, according to today's discussion, is necessary and inevitable.

The public discussion should give an answer to the question of the meaning of non-party political pluralism, something that remained unanswered today.

The document proceeds from the assertion that the socialist alliance does not provide enough room for the reaffirmation of political pluralism on the basis of a well-argued and open dialogue. This is why the question of the social role of the socialist alliance, above all in the electoral and assembly system, has been raised.

"The renewal of the socialist alliance," the document says, "should be done in such a way that it ensures enough room for expression, clashes, competition, for different ideas, views, and the programs of all, including the minority interests of associations for the affirmation of a cultured democratic dialogue."

The discussion demonstrated that in addition to general agreement with the idea of introducing political pluralism, the question of how the newly founded associations will work within the SAWP and the question of how these associations see their work, remain open.

According to Vjekoslav Grmic, one cannot discuss these matters until everything is made clear. Another unanswered question is whether the socialist alliance should guarantee the real autonomy and independence of the newly founded associations as well as those that are in the process of being founded.

Social Democratic Program Declaration Published

AU1102210089 Ljubljana MLADINA in Slovene 3 Feb 89 pp 22-23

["Program Declaration: The Social Democratic Alliance of Slovenia"]

[Text] Convinced that every citizen of Slovenia has the right to live in freedom and prosperity, to chose and to dismiss leaders according to a democratic procedure set in advance, and to create in peace and without fear of arbitrary steps by the authorities, we are founding

The Social Democratic Alliance of Slovenia.

Slovenia and Yugoslavia are experiencing a general social crisis. The causes of the crisis lie in the undemocratic and ideologically burdened political system, and its consequences are to be seen in all fields of social life: in the economic crisis, cultural impoverishment, lagging behind in science, and not least of all in the powerlessness of the individual.

The Social Democrats of Slovenia are an autonomous political organization. We are inspired by free and freedom-loving principles of European social democracy, based on the ethics of European humanism, social justice, and human dignity.

Because we, the Social Democrats, want to realize the right of all the citizens of Slovenia to freedom and prosperity, we will in a peaceful and legal way strive above all for reforms in politics and the economy, in social policy, and the Army.

1. The Political System

We, the Social Democrats, will strive for the elimination of those foundations of the present political system that in the political sphere preserve undemocratic forms of decisionmaking in public affairs, such as a one-party rule. We will do everything for a consistent implementation of freedom and rights of the individual, regardless of his political and religious beliefs, nationality, origin, sex, or sexual inclination, and for the implementation of the freedom of political association and organization, freedom of speech and of the press.

We, the Social Democrats, believe that religion is a matter of a private belief of each individual and therefore cannot be an obstacle to political and social activities.

In our firm conviction, the foundations of a modern political system are among other things:
separation of the legislative, the juridical, and the executive powers;
an election procedure based on free, direct, and secret elections;
a full implementation of a parliamentary democracy.

We, the Social Democrats, will strive for a parliamentary system in which candidates may be representatives of various political parties, organizations, or other alliances, or individuals on the basis of support given by a prescribed number of signatures. The parliament as the supreme representative body must work in a sovereign fashion, independently of any extra-parliamentary interference. It must constantly supervise the executive organs, the police, and the Army.

The state apparatus must not serve any special interest (class, group, party, or individual), and it must only ensure respect for legal and legitimate forms of public activities.

We are in favor of referendum as a form of direct democracy. Citizens should themselves decide on as many important questions as possible in local communities, the communes, and the republic. We, the Social Democrats, do not believe in a non-party democracy, but of course this does not mean that political parties are the only form of political organization and expression of political will.

For us, the SAWP is acceptable only if it changes the rules that give the LC a privileged and monopoly position in it, as well as the rules that demand a unification of stances and programs and thus prevent the expression and the realization of various political initiatives.

2. The Juridical System and Legislation

We advocate a state regulated by law and such criminal legislation that will protect the citizen from abuse by the authorities. Among the most important tasks that the Social Democrats set ourselves is the drafting of the proposal for a new Slovene constitution that will be based on the Human Rights Declaration and basic freedoms, on the international treaty on civil and political rights, and on the CSCE documents.

The new Slovene constitution must precisely determine and protect Slovene sovereignty or statehood, and in this connection it must again determine the sociopolitical system which must be based on a full equality of sociopolitical subjects. The judiciary and the Slovene defense policy must be newly defined and determined.

On the basis of a broad public discussion, in which the several proposals for a new constitution could supplement each other, a constituent assembly (of the people of Slovenia) in which various political organizations would be represented. [sentence incomplete as published] The proposal prepared in this way would be decided upon by the citizens of Slovenia at a referendum, which for the Social Democrats is the only legitimate way to adopt the highest Slovene law.

3. The Economy

Convinced that efficient economic operations are necessary for social prosperity, the Social Democrats strive for:
a reaffirmation of work as a contribution and as good;
entrepreneurship;
ownership pluralism.

A worker must receive payment suitable to his work contribution, and the entrepreneur should be unhindered in his powers that are necessary for the conduct of the entrepreneur's function, within the norms that prevail in modern market economies. The concept of integral self-management should be replaced with co-determination [soodlocanje] and the concept of social property should be abandoned. The workers should be able to buy shares.

We support an open market economy with economic organizations that are not dependent on political organizations and that bear full economic responsibility for their conduct. One should form a system which, while taking into account the differences in economic interests, will determine only the basic rules of conduct, and these rules cannot essentially differ from rules in other modern market economies.

We advocate a modern development of farming and an abolition of the upper limit on land holdings. With its economic policy, the state should help the development of farming, which should be based on family farms and should ensure the protection of cultivable land.

A restructuring of the economy should improve the human environment, and therefore we are in favor of ecologically pure activities, economical in the use of energy and raw materials.

The state should protect national wealth through its taxation and monetary policy, encourage enterprise, and ensure basic social security, economic stability, and the respect for the rules of the legal system and the financial system; it should manage the infrastructure, prevent the appearance of monopolies, and carry out other functions that it has in modern market economies.

The taxation system and policy should serve economic growth. Taxes should encourage productivity and entrepreneurship and in this way influence an improvement in the standard of living.

The taxation burden imposed on the economy and the population must be at the level of industrially developed states.

We advocate independence of Slovenia in forming an economic system and economic policy that suit it. The market cannot be asserted through a centralization of macro-management, but through a full independence of economic organizations.

4. The Trade Unions

The most important factor of industrial democracy is autonomous trade unions. Therefore we will advocate a free formation of independent and pluralistic trade union organizations and ties among them. At the same time we will have to win the right to a full legalization of strikes.

The present trade unions must shed the tutelage by the LC and must not submit to the influence of any other political organization in the future. Therefore, we Social Democrats will consistently advocate that the trade unions be the only forms of organization in enterprises and other institutions. Other sociopolitical organizations should act outside the enterprises and institutions, for this is the only way for the trade unions to be a truly autonomous organization of the workers.

In this way we will see that the present linkage between the politicians and the enterprises is cut, and this will have a positive influence on a more effective cadre selection in enterprises and thus a more responsible and more efficient functioning of the enterprises, thus leading to an improvement of the material position of the workers.

5. Social Policy

Social policy depends on the political and economic situation. Its scope is determined by the level of production and the level of the social product. Because of the economic crisis and the complex state administration that lacks a purpose and is therefore inefficient, social activities have been dramatically shrinking in our country. The situation continues to deteriorate, and this may lead to a complete breakdown of social activities, and especially the health and the education systems.

It is understandable that poor economic activities do not ensure good quality services and do not eliminate poverty and emigration, and social differences increase. Regardless of the circumstances it is necessary to ensure equal opportunities for all, and more or less equal starting positions in life.

In the long run, we will advocate a build-up in state prosperity, which means that every member of this society will have an opportunity to develop as a person, to receive an education, to raise a family, and to have good living conditions. The basic services (education, health, social security, pensions, culture...) must be accessible to all the citizens regardless of their social position.

We note that social security of all the citizens is based on their work. We will give social assistance only to those people who are physically or mentally handicapped, to children and to old people, to the unemployed, and other endangered groups of people. We will particularly strive for the protection of children and the family and for a more efficient solving of the housing situation.

We will strive for a drafting of programs for the employment of young people and social programs for workers and their families who will remain without work in the transitional period of the economic renewal. We will help them to acquire most quickly the new skills required by the modern economy. In addition we will propose other forms for resolving unemployment that have been tested in the modern world, particularly the opportunities for self-employment in private and cooperative enterprises.

We oppose the introduction of any additional monetary contributions (personal contributions) for health, education, child care... that do not ensure the users of a better quality of services and their participation in decision-making on how these services are run and how they are financed.

In order to prevent the level of services and to improve their efficiency and their quality, the Social Democrats will support the development of the public and private sectors in all fields of social services. The citizens will be able to use their money in either sector according to their free choice.

6. The International Position of Slovenia

Slovenia is a part of Europe and we have been marked by fate with the achievements of Western civilization, which we do not want to renounce in the future, either. We, the Social Democrats, will strive consistently for the inclusion of Slovenia and Yugoslavia in the European area and the West European economic, technological, and cultural integration.

One of the priority tasks of the Social Democrats is the creation of political and economic conditions for membership in the European Community. We will strive consistently for open borders and a free circulation of people, goods, and information.

We will respect the valid international conventions that impose respect for human rights and freedoms. We will become members of the Socialist International, of which other social democratic parties are members, and we will also maintain contacts with similarly oriented parties and movements in the world.

7. The Position of Slovenes in Yugoslavia and Beyond its Borders

We join in the strivings of the Slovenes and other citizens of Slovenia, expressed many times, for the sovereignty of the people of Slovenia and all other Yugoslav peoples, and such harmony in Yugoslavia so as to fully express all the differences and developmental needs of the republics in conformity with their own abilities and their creativity and cultural tradition.

We consider that these distinctions include, in addition to economic and cultural elements, the right to their own system of values and a political system suiting them. Yugoslavia should be tied together with actually determinable joint interests, which should be tested through self-determination.

We will consistently develop the common Slovene cultural area, which should embrace all the Slovenes regardless of their political or religious beliefs and their place of residence, and which should be based on the language. We advocate a Slovene cultural forum as a consultative body of all the Slovenes.

One should pay particular attention to the Slovene national community beyond the borders of Yugoslavia. One should ensure economic and cultural assistance for their development and demand of all states a consistent implementation of their internationally guaranteed national rights.

8. Defense Policy

We, the Social Democrats, advocate a complete subordination of the military apparatus to a democratically elected assembly. We will advocate an abolition of the military courts. The financing of the Army should be completely within the powers of the civilian authorities.

In the short run, we will advocate a radical reduction of the existing Army and a respect for conscientious objection, and in the long run, our aim is a small, professional military machinery geared toward defense. Among other things, this would of course mean a reduction in the general military service. We are convinced that the present militarization of daily life does not reflect a possible international tension.

We, the Social Democrats, will also advocate a complete supervision by the Slovene people over the military apparatus in the territory of Slovenia. If we were able to have such a concept of defense during the National Liberation Struggle, it is even more justified to transfer it in times of peace. Therefore, the Social Democrats will advocate that a Slovene military region be formed in which the language of command and of training in units, staffs, and other organs of the Slovene military region will be in Slovene.

The Initiative Committee of the Social Democratic Alliance of Slovenia, 21 January 1989.

The following participated in writing this program declaration: Frane Adam, Katja Boh, Uros Cene, Gorazd Dervensek, Vida Jan, Gordan Jovanovic, Jozef Kopse, Vogomir Kozelj, Pavle Likar, Andrej Magajna, Joze Mencingher, Milan Oder, Roman Pogacar, Slavko Susec, Uros Sustersic, Boro Tercelj, Gregor Tercelj, Gregor Tomc, Franc Tomsic, Vladimir Turk, and Jasa Zlobec.

The founding meeting of the Social Democratic Alliance of Slovenia will be in the great hall of the Cankar Center in Ljubljana at 1700 on 16 February 1989.

Albanian Refugees Abusing Montenegrin Hospitality
LD0902200889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1226 GMT 9 Feb 89

[Excerpts] Titograd, 9 Feb (TANJUG)—According to the latest figures from competent republican departments, 67 Albanian citizens with the recognized status of refugee currently reside in Montenegro. The total number of people in their families is 180 and, judging by official findings, they are oriented toward accepting Yugoslav citizenship because this, among other things enables them to become involved in economic and social activities, in other words, to enjoy the rights arising from being in employment—from health and social protection to acquiring a pension. [passage omitted]

Some of them, unfortunately, are abusing the hospitality which has been shown to them. Without anyone's knowledge and approval, for example, they are converting or destroying buildings made available to them, and there have also been cases of the transfer of these buildings into their own ownership. This has also been done with agricultural and other socially-owned land and property, something which is, of course, contrary to our legal regulations; the Republican Executive Council will also give its judgment on this when it considers the data which has just been announced on the position, conditions of stay, and work by Albanian refugees in Montenegro.

Correspondent Views Daily Life in Albania
AU0602084189 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Jan 89 p 2

[Radislav Cuk article: "A Foreigner in Tirana"]

[Text] (From our special correspondent) Tirana, Jan [date as published]—A color television with good reception of Italian programs is always turned on in the lobby of the Dajti Hotel.

"Whoever wants," our Albanian guide says, "can decide whether to watch Tirana Television, Italian television, or Yugoslav television from Titograd."

He says that Lepa Brena, Saban Saulic, and Halid Beslic [popular Yugoslav singers] are very popular in Albania, especially Brena. People also watch Djekna [a television serial] because plenty of Albanians understand and even speak Serbo-Croatian very well.

"We have learned your language through television and by listening to your radio stations," an Albanian singer in the bar of the Dajti Hotel explained.

Albanian citizens, apart from well-known writers, artists, and figures from public life, do not patronize this hotel for foreigners on the Boulevard of the Martyrs of the Nation.

The editor in chief of the magazine NEW ALBANIA says that he has been to Yugoslavia several times. He talks to us about the emancipation of Albanian women, stressing that the question of family planning should be a personal matter for the individual, and not for some sort of plan.

Anyway, Albania has the highest birthrate in Europe.

Average Income of About $100

"For this reason, there are a lot of young people who have reached working age. There are three or four working in every household," another Albanian journalist explains, "So, when their incomes are gathered together, it comes to be quite a lot."

He also tells us details of incomes that are on a scale of 1:2. The average income is between 500 and 600 leks, which is less than $100. According to the exchange rate, one receives seven leks for one dollar here.

Engineers, doctors, and other specialists with higher education earn between 700 and 800 leks. A worker can receive as much if he exceeds his norm.

According to official data, there is no unemployment, and the peasantry are considered agricultural workers. Their personal plots cannot be exceed 300 square meters. There are no employees in small businesses. "A cobbler, if he wanted to, could not work in this way, because he could not obtain leather," our colleague explains.

Apartment blocks are not high quality, according to what we were able to observe in Tirana, Shkoder, Durres, and other places, but we were told that everybody here, after 1 or 2 years of work, obtains an apartment of some kind, either receiving one from his enterprise, or building a house himself, for which he receives credit on favorable terms.

"Our living standards are low," an ATA journalist told us, "but we are satisfied because we had nothing before. We have developed fast from the war to the present day. We have so far reduced the prices of goods 13 times."

World Prices for Foreigners

A kilogram of white bread costs 2.50 leks; brown bread 2.00; milk 2.50; first-grade meat 17.00, second-grade 14.50, and third grade 12.00. Brandy costs 16 leks, and a grape spirit called Rrushi costs—25 leks.

A good lunch in a restaurant costs between 10 and 15 leks, but at the Dajti Hotel, for foreigners, the price is on a level with the rest of the world.

A good men's suit requires an average monthly salary—600 leks.

A color television set can be bought for 9 months' salary.

Books are very cheap, and 180 titles a year are published, with a total print run of 12 million.

"Before the war, we only had 380 people with higher education, and now we have 80,000," Rudom Graboval, curator of the "Albania Today" Museum, told us.

He also told us that Albania produces 14 feature films, 16 cartoon films, and 40 documentaries every year.

Our colleague from ATA also informed us that preparations are under way for compulsory secondary education.

There is unlimited enrollment in secondary schools and colleges.

The main recreation, apart from television, is the evening promenade. In the evening, one can hardly move for people, mainly young people, on the broad main street of Tirana. There are not many restaurants. There are places where dances are organized, but the most popular entertainment is at home.

The people are not noisy. Nevertheless, there is noise, although there are few motor vehicles on the streets. Here, motorists incessantly warn pedestrians with their horns.

Trade Unions Discusses Textile Workers' Demands

LD0702194189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1431 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 7 Feb (TANJUG)—The trade unions should not assent to such low personal incomes as workers in the textile and leather industry have. In fact, in the first 8 months of last year, the average personal income in the textile industry was 255,000 dinars, it was said at today's session of the Yugoslav Trade Union Federation Council Presidium, at which there was consideration of the socioeconomic position of workers in the textile, leather, and shoe industries.

Among the reasons for placing this group of problems on the agenda was certainly the call by the trade unions of the Proleter carpet factory in Zrenjanin to textile workers in Yugoslavia to go on a general strike unless their demands are met by 20 February.

The Presidium supported the demands of the workers relating to the improvement of the workers' material position. It made no statement about the other matters. Meanwhile, the weavers in Zrenjanin are also requesting that responsibility be established for the counterrevolution in Kosovo, the smashing of the unity of Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav People's Army, as well as of those involved in various machinations and the theft of social property. Some Presidium members even said that the Presidium should lead such a strike if the competent organs turn a deaf ear to the demands for improvement of the material position of workers in this sector. [passage omitted]

Repayment of Debt to Norway Postponed

AU0902163989 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Feb 89 p 12

[TANJUG Report: "Repayment of Debt to Norway Rescheduled"]

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Feb—The FEC and the Norwegian Government today signed an agreement allowing Yugoslavia to postpone the repayment of its debts falling due in the period 1 April to 30 June 1989. The total amount of debt is 97 million kroner.

The agreement was signed by the assistant federal secretary for finance Boris Skapin, on behalf of the Yugoslav Government, and the Norwegian ambassador to Belgrade, George Krane, on behalf of the Norwegian Government.